

Lahiri's English Classics

MILTON'S PARADISE LOST
BOOKS X XI XII

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EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY THE
REV. J. G. SCRIMGEOUR, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE
CALCUTTA

• Organ voice of England,
• Milton.
— Tennyson.

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Perhaps no book when it has been once carefully perused throughout, is more frequently recurred to by all lovers of literature impelled to re-open it by the haunting visions of beauty or echoes of aerial melody that linger in the memory.

—R. C. Brown on *Paradise Lost*

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PREFACE.

This edition of *Paradise Lost* x. xi. xii. was undertaken at the request of the publisher, Mr. S. K. Lahiri, who was desirous that students should have these three books offered to them in one compact volume. Much care has been spent over the text, which is based on the Clarendon Press edition of 1870, and Keightley's published in 1859. The editor has availed himself of the opinions of those who have gone over the same ground before him; but the concluding books of Milton's masterpiece have suffered comparative neglect at the hands of commentators; and even when crucial difficulties have required to be dealt with, he has often had to rely on his own judgment—his rule being to pass over no passage in silence that might present obstacles to the ordinary student.

In approaching the study of an epic poem—the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, the *Æneid* or *Paradise Lost*,—it is not of much consequence where we make our beginning. It is one of the notes of a great work of art that "the end is everywhere." If the student who starts with bk. x. feels he requires a good deal of "orientation" (which the introductory matter of the present volume aims at giving him); so also would he, were he starting with bk. i. instead.

Here and there in these books, Milton indulges (some will think over-indulges) his fondness for high-sounding historical and geographical proper names. These are apt at first to be stumbling-blocks to the uninitiated student; but (if one may quote, and at the same time endorse, the words of the above-named critic), "we will venture to assert that when one has fixed in his memory the position of the places named by the poet and some of the political events connected with them, these very passages will ever after be among those he will peruse with the greatest pleasure."

J. C. S.

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INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF MILTON.

John and Christopher.

The father of John Milton appears to have been a man of wide sympathies, a musician of no mean order, and capable in every way of appreciating the genius of the elder of his two sons—of him who was to become the world-famous author of *Paradise Lost*. John Milton (for such was the father's name) was disinherited because he had left the Roman communion and identified himself with the Reformation party. Thus Milton's grandfather (who had an estate in Oxfordshire) was a man who could disown his offspring for presuming to hold different views from himself. In matters of opinion, the poet, of course, took very much after his father; but would it be quite out of the question to trace to this almost unknown figure, away in the background of Milton's biography, something of that Roman severity which was so outstanding a feature in the character of the puritan poet himself?

The other son, whose name was Christopher, (as if to prove that a man is more apt to resemble his grandfather than his father) threw in his lot with the Royalists, went back to the bosom of the Roman church, and was promoted to the bench in the days of the infamous Jeffreys.

If we keep in mind such facts as these, we shall have a vivid enough idea of the spiritual atmosphere of Milton's early home. Even that sanctuary, we may be sure, was invaded by the party spirit of the day,—fierce already in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and destined in the coming days to break forth into the flames of civil warfare.

Early training.

The disinherited son had come up to London, where he earned his living as a "scrivener," or law-writer. The poet was born at the sign of the Spread Eagle in Cheapside, on December 9, 1608. Of his mother, Milton said (in a Latin pamphlet) that she was "a most approved woman and widely known for her works of charity." More than this we do not know of her.

From his earliest years it appears that every facility was put within the boy's reach for the development of his mind. Not only was he sent to St. Paul's school, but his home studies were superintended by one Thomas Young, a Scotsman and a Puritan, "who cut his hair short."

He was studious and thoughtful beyond his years. One of the poet's earliest biographers tells us that "when he was very young, he studied very hard, and sate up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night; and his father ordered the maid to sit up for him."

It was in these years that Milton laid the foundations of his immense classical learning. But his interests were not confined to the dead languages.

He devoted a good deal of attention to the poets of his own country, of Spenser among others; and he himself early began to write English verses. What is chiefly noteworthy about these is that they were all on sacred topics—the child was father of the man.

Residence at Cambridge.

When Milton (at sixteen) went up to Cambridge his first tutor was an ecclesiastic of the school of Laud. There was some disagreement between him and his tutor and he was sent away from college for a time; on returning he was transferred to a more congenial tutor.

He was known as "the lady of Christ's"—a tribute at once to his personal beauty and to his virtuous conduct. He remained at the university for seven years, taking his B. A. degree in 1629 and his M. A. in 1632. Masson, who devotes 200 pages to Milton's Cambridge days, sums up by saying that the poet seems to have passed through two stages in his university career—"a stage of decided unpopularity, in his own college at least, which lasted till about 1628; and a final stage of triumph, when his powers were recognized, and he was treated, as he himself states, with quite unusual respect by the authorities of the House and by all who knew him."

It was with a view to preparing him for holy orders that Milton had been sent to the university. But as he grew older, he perceived that a church whose ruling spirit was Archbishop Laud was no sphere for one with such principles as were now forming in his mind. On the eve of leaving Cambridge he wrote a letter to a friend (enclosing the famous sonnet "On being arrived at the age of 23") which shows the difficulty he felt in the choice of a calling. His life hitherto (he says) has been "obscure and unserviceable to mankind," and yet he owns to entertaining "a desire for honour and repute and immortal fame." And then he seems to give us the key to the next five years of his life. To reach his ambition he feels the need for a period of "obscurity" and "solitariness;" and whatever people may say about him, he is not to take "thought of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit."

The three periods of Milton's life.

Milton's life has been likened to a "drama in three acts." (Pattison). But there is perhaps more appropriateness (when we have such a lofty personality as his to deal with) in Saintsbury's similitude of a *trilogy*—in the comparison of his life not to one drama,

but to a series of three dramas, each distinct from the other, yet all of them mutually related. Adopting such a scheme, Milton's school and college days might be compared to the opening "Prologue," while the following are the natural divisions for the remainder:—

I. Retirement at Horton and foreign travel.

II. Abandonment of poetry for the controversies of the time.

III. Return to poetry.

Life at Horton.

Milton's father had now retired from business and was spending the evening of his life in the quiet of the country. Horton was within easy reach of Eton; and among Milton's friends of these days was the master of Eton College, the well-known Sir Henry Wotton. This period of his life was mostly spent in reading the ancient authors of Greece and Rome, with occasional essays in poetical composition. A commonplace-book that came to light in 1874 and supposed to belong to the Horton period, contains extracts from no less than eighty different authors (Greek, Latin, French, Italian and English). Nothing could better show the width of Milton's intellectual sympathies. The poetical production of these years is labelled "Minor Poems," though these include such masterpieces as *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*.*

All of these testify to Milton's love of external nature, which, however, he is more or less inclined to look at "through the spectacles of books." In some ways the most wonderful poem of the series is "*Lycidas*,"

*It would be beyond the scope of this brief sketch to attempt a detailed account of these gems. The student may be recommended to consult the recently published *Handbook of English Literature*, prepared by Messrs Webb and Aldis, where a detailed account will be found of each.

the elegy composed in memory of Edward King whom he had known at Cambridge. It is here that the memorable lines occur in which, with all the fury of an ancient prophet, he "foretells the ruin of our corrupted clergy then (1637) at their height." The date of this poem is a most important landmark in its author's mental history. There was much in Milton's proud and refined nature, in his fondness for music, his intensely artistic nature, that bore far more affinity to the cavalier party than to that of the "Roundheads" that stood opposed to them.* It would not be surprising, if for some years a struggle had been going on in his mind between the opposing principles for which each of these two parties stood; but by the time *Lycidas* was composed, (when Milton was approaching the age of thirty), the crisis was past, and we need be in no suspense as to which side will find a champion in him during the coming conflict.

Continental Journey,

Early in 1638, Milton left England for Italy, travelling by way of Paris, where he had an interview with Grotius, the most famous scholar of the day. He spent much of his time abroad in the beautiful city of Florence, where he was very much fêted by various academies of learned men. On reaching Rome, he was more outspoken than was prudent, being perhaps too much stirred up by the things that displeased him, either to think of his own safety or abide by the rule he had formed for his own guidance, which was as follows:—

"Not of my own accord to introduce in those places conversation about religion, but, if interro-

*The reader will here remember Scott's preference for the cavaliers, because (as Ruskin puts it) he thought them *free and masterful*; whereas the Puritans appeared to him *formal and slavish*. It is too often taken for granted that Milton, as a mere matter of course, was bound to throw in his lot with the latter party—without even requiring to make up his mind in the matter!

gated respecting the faith, then, whatsoever I should suffer, to dissemble nothing. What I was, if any one asked, I concealed from no one; if any one in the very city of the Pope attacked the orthodox religion, I defended it most freely."

While under the soft, alluring skies of Italy, he remained firm to his puritan principles; and when, long afterwards, his enemies tried to slander his character by suggesting that he had yielded to the seductions of the enervating environment, he answered them in the following words:—

"I take God to witness that in all those places, where so many things are considered lawful, I lived sound and untouched from all profligacy and vice. having this thought perpetually with me, that, though I might escape the eyes of men, I certainly could not the eyes of God."

The most striking incident in his foreign travels was his interview with Galileo, the greatest astronomer of the day and the most famous of living Italians, at this time frail and blind. To him he thus alludes in the *Areopagitica*: "There [in the neighbourhood of Florence] it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner of the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought." He is twice referred to in *Paradise Lost*.

Milton's original plan included a visit to Sicily and Greece, but the news that reached him in Naples regarding home events filled him with impatience to be back in England; "for I considered it disgraceful" (as he afterwards wrote) "that while my fellow-countrymen were fighting at home for liberty, I should be travelling abroad at ease for intellectual pursuits." He spent a month in Venice, and from there he shipped for England a library of books

collected in different parts of Italy, among them a chest or two of music books. Crossing the Alps by St. Bernard, the next city he sojourned in was Geneva, the home of the Calvinistic type of Protestantism. He reached England about August, 1639, having been absent for fifteen months.

Milton settles in London.

And now the curtain rises upon the second drama of the trilogy. The general character of this period is strikingly different, both from what goes before, and from the period that will follow it.

After living in lodgings for some time, Milton took a house in Aldersgate Street, where he started a seminary for the education of his nephews (Edward and John Phillips), along with a number of other much favoured pupils. His motive appears to have been not so much to earn a livelihood, as to indulge a pure and unadulterated love of pedagogy. Dr. Johnson has his sneer at Milton for hurrying back to England in order to serve his country—and then “vapouring away his patriotism in a private boarding school.” But while teaching the rudiments of Latin grammar, Milton was all the time watching very eagerly the trend of public affairs, and waiting for his opportunity to take part in the fray. But alas, the poet now gives place to the pamphleteer. For twenty years he almost loses his personal identity, if the delicate spirit that communes with us in *L’Allegro* and *Comus* is Milton. But the truth seems to be that there was far more in Milton than the mere artist; and the man who was capable of writing such a poem as *Paradise Lost* was (to say the least) bound to be as much a lover of liberty and friend of his country, as he was a poet.

Milton’s early pamphlets.

In the course of twenty years, he wrote twenty-five pamphlets—four in Latin, and twenty-one in English.

The gem of the collection is his "Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing," which he published under the name of Areopagitica. For the tenor of the whole series we may quote a sentence that occurs in his "Second Defence of the English People":—"I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic and civil." Pattison, after allowing that many of the pamphlets are disfigured by bad taste, that they are one-sided and personal, goes on to point out as their great redeeming characteristic that they are all written on the side of liberty. "He defended religious liberty against the prelates, civil liberty against the crown, the liberty of the press against the executive, liberty of conscience against the Presbyterians, and domestic liberty against the tyranny of canon law."

Secretary for Foreign Tongues.

Shortly after the execution of Charles I, Milton accepted the post of Latin Secretary under Cromwell's government. This involved him in a controversy with the famous continental scholar Salmasius. For several years the whole of educated Europe watched with interest—and, if the whole truth must be told, with merriment—a war of words, where personal abuse was mingled with, and not unfrequently took the place of, arguments.

The sole glory Milton gained was to be recognised as having a greater mastery than his opponent of the vocabulary of abuse in a dead language. It was this controversy that cost him his sight. He became totally blind about the year 1652.

Milton's domestic affairs.

Milton's first marriage was unfortunate. Mary Powell belonged to a Royalist family, and within a month of her marriage (1643), got tired of the austere simplicity

of the grave puritan home in Aldersgate Street, and went back to her father's. This was the origin of four pamphlets on the subject of divorce, and it helps us to understand certain unhappy references to the married state to be found in the later books of *Paradise Lost*.*

The next marriage (after an interval of four years) appears to have been as happy as the first was miserable. With Catherine Woodcock he spent but fifteen months of loving companionship; and then wrote the most touching of his sonnets,

"Methought I saw my late espoused wife." †

Effects of the Restoration of Milton's Fortunes.

Milton's pamphlet warfare did not cease till the very eve of Charles II's return to London. The May of 1660 is therefore the moment when the second drama of the "trilogy" ends and the third begins. Naturally there was a complete change in the life of the defender of regicides. Fortunately for the puritans, the new monarch was not a Sulla. Milton's life was spared; but his writings were publicly burnt by the hangman, and he was forced to go into hiding. The Serjeant-at-Arms arrested him, but released him on payment of certain exorbitant fees.

He outlived the Restoration fourteen years. He lived now in great obscurity. Outwardly this is

* See, *e. g.* x. 149, xi. 632, and kindred passages. In another place (x. 937 seq.) almost every commentator—with the exception of Masson—sees a reference to his reconciliation with his wife. The poet, when the Royalist cause was on the wane, was magnanimous enough to receive into his household not merely his wife, but also her father and mother, as well as several brothers and sisters. In these days, the poet's father too was living with him. John Milton, the elder, died in 1647, at the age of eighty-four.

† He had never seen her except with the eyes of the mind.

almost the least eventful time of his life—but these are the years that were of most importance to posterity.

Later domestic Life.

Milton's third wife (whom he married in 1663) was thirty years his junior. She attended sedulously to his physical comforts in his declining years, but there is no evidence that she was able to appreciate her husband's genius.*

His two nephews, upon whose education he had lavished such pains, both joined the Royalist party. Edward Phillips never lost interest in his uncle, and rendered him many a service, assisting him, e. g. in getting *Paradise Lost* through the press. But John Phillips went entirely over to the enemy, and found employment for his pen in writing burlesques on the manners and the morals of the puritans.†

Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained.

Milton's masterpiece, which had been begun several years before the Restoration, was completed in 1665, but not published till 1667. He gave the manuscript to Thomas Ellwood, a former pupil, and asked him

* These days were saddened by his unhappy relations with his daughters (the issue of his first marriage). "This is certainly the most dismal chapter of the great poet's life. It is well known that instead of proving a comfort to their father in his helplessness, they were rather like thorns in his side. But he was most unwise in his treatment of them, and expected that they should submit to reading books to him in tongues they did not understand. Milton's only son had died shortly after birth, in 1650.

† Macaulay's sentence applies therefore to the great puritan's nephew and pupil, whom he had sheltered in his bosom like the snake in *Æsop's* fable. "They [the puritans after the Restoration] were abandoned without reserve to the tender mercies of the satirists and dramatists."—*Essay on Milton*.

for his opinion. A casual remark* of the latter is popularly believed to have given the poet the hint for the continuation of the theme in *Paradise Regained*.

The subject of the shorter epic is, in a sense, the counterpart of the Temptation in *Paradise*. It is merely an expansion and amplification of the story of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness. We are told that its author could not bear to hear anyone say it was inferior to the poem to which it was the sequel.

Samson Agonistes.

Regarding this drama it has been said that "nothing put forth by Milton in verse in his whole life is so vehement an exhibition of his personality." (Masson). Every utterance placed in the mouth of the blind hero has some bearing on the poet himself and his times. The charges brought against the people of Philistia are merely a country under Charles II. To Milton the Restoration was nothing less than national apostasy—every cause he had supported by his pen was treated with contempt by the adherents of the party in power. Nor was the decay of morals unaccompanied by decline in national prestige. "It is impossible to think without anger and grief of the declension.....from Cromwell enforcing toleration for Protestants to Charles selling himself to France for a pension, from Blake at Tunis to the Dutch at Chatham." (Sir Richard Garnett).

Last days and Death.

Near the end of Masson's sixth volume, will be found an account of Dryden's visit to the blind poet. Dryden

*"He asked me how I liked it [*Paradise Lost*] and what I thought of it; which I modestly, but freely told him: and, after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, "Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?" *Paradise Regained* was published (along with *Samson Agonistes*) in the year 1671.

requested permission (which was granted) to turn *Paradise Lost* into a riming drama. Mayson gives us a few piteous specimens of the younger poet's efforts to "tag Milton's verses." This memorable visit took place in the last year of Milton's life.

In the July of that year he was severely attacked with gout, but he seems to have completely recovered, and in October "was very merry and seemed to be in good health of body." Next month, however, the gout "struck in again," and carried him off on 8th November, 1674. He was within a month of sixty-six. His body was interred beside his father's, in the chancel of St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate.

Milton's character.

Sublimity is the word that best sums up Milton, and the word applies in equal degree to his writings (prose and verse) and his character. It was of Milton that Wordsworth wrote:—

Soul awful—if the earth has ever lodged
An awful soul !

Matthew Arnold refers constantly to the *pureness* of his character. It is what one naturally expects in a puritan! Milton once said that before one can expect to write good poetry, one must himself be a true poem; by which he meant "a composition and pattern of the most honourable things." And he can afford to be judged by his words. No doubt it is possible to draw attention to a side of his character that is hard and unattractive. The man of genius is one thing, and the man of intelligence is another. Milton, while he was very strikingly a man of genius, was markedly deficient in the quality of intelligence; and this deficiency comes out in his matrimonial affairs, in his treatment of his family, and in his public controversies.*

* We are grateful that he kept his coarse satirical power apart from his poetry.—*Stopford Brooke.*

But these are spots in the sun. In at least four respects he stands high above nearly all his contemporaries; as a great scholar, who was no pedant; as a great poet, who wrote to elevate his readers; as a great saint, whose habitual mood was communion with the unseen world; and as a patriot, who suffered the loss of all things for the great cause he devoted his life to.

. Living in an age of great men, perhaps there is only one of his contemporaries with whom we can compare him in intellectual stature. Among living men, Cromwell was Milton's hero. The wonderful sonnet beginning: "Cromwell, our chief of men!" shows us how much admiration he could feel towards a man whose genius was unlike his own—although, as far as aims and ideals were concerned, they were at one.

The praise of Milton.

Of the wits and scholars who resorted to Milton's house in his latter days, no one was of the Boswell type; the age of memoirs and biographies was not yet, or not yet a feature of *English* literature. A few fragmentary notices of some who knew him more or less, are sometimes dignified with the name of "biographies"; but at most they only tell us of his external life. We are informed about what clothes he wore, what dishes he relished, that he was fond of sitting outside his door in the warm sun; and other particulars that are interesting enough, because they concern Milton; but not one of his contemporaries attempted to delineate his character or to say the right word about his writings.

It was Addison's famous Papers in the Spectator that first drew the attention of the public to the merits of *Paradise Lost*. The praise is certainly not stinted, but the tone is patronising. Epithets like "pleasing" or "elegant" applied to work like Milton's seem to

"damn it with faint praise." Johnson's *Life* (1779) is the most interesting thing the lexicographer ever wrote, and should be read by all students of Milton. The gruff old Tory is better pleased when he can carp and find fault than when he praises; but not even party prejudice can blind him to the nobility of Milton's character, nor a too narrow critical theory to the grandeur of his masterpiece.

But for true appreciation we must descend to a later generation. It is in such writers as Coleridge and Wordsworth that Milton first finds critics who can be said to be in entire sympathy with his genius. Panegyric reaches its acme in Macaulay's famous *Essay*. The critical parts were condemned by their author in his later years as showing the "redundancy of youthful enthusiasm." But nothing finer has ever been said on the Character of Milton, than what he says in this *Essay*.

Macaulay on Milton.

He was not a puritan. He was not a freethinker. He was not a Royalist. In his character the noblest qualities of every party were combined in harmonious union. From the Parliament and from the Court, from the conventicle and from the Gothic cloister, from the gloomy and sepulchral circles of the Roundheads, and from the Christmas revel of the hospitable Cavalier, his nature selected and drew to itself whatever was great and good, while it rejected all the base and pernicious ingredients by which those finer elements were defiled. Like the Puritans, he lived

As ever in his great task-master's eye.

Like them, he kept his mind continually fixed on an Almighty Judge and an eternal reward. And hence he acquired their contempt of external circumstances, their fortitude, their tranquillity, their inflexible resolution. But not the coolest sceptic or the most profane scoffer was more perfectly free from the contagion of their frantic delusions, their savage manners, their ludicrous jargon, their scorn of science, and their aversion to pleasure. Hating tyranny with a perfect hatred, he had nevertheless all the estimable and

ornamental qualities which were almost entirely monopolised by the party of the tyrant. There was none who had a stronger sense of the value of literature, a finer relish for every elegant amusement, or a more chivalrous delicacy of honour and love. Though his opinions were democratic, his tastes and his associations were such as harmonise best with monarchy and aristocracy. He was under the influence of all the feelings by which the gallant Cavaliers were misled. But of those feelings he was the master and not the slave. Like the hero of Homer, he enjoyed all the pleasures of fascination ; but he was not fascinated. He listened to the song of the Syrens ; yet he glided by without being seduced to their fatal shore. He tasted the cup of Circe ; but he bore about him a sure antidote against the effects of its bewitching sweetness. The illusions which captivated his imagination never impaired his reasoning powers. The statesman was proof against the splendour, the solemnity, and the romance which enchanted the poet. Any person who will contrast the sentiments expressed in his treatises on Prelacy with the exquisite lines on ecclesiastical architecture and music in the *Penseroso*, which was published about the same time, will understand our meaning. This is an inconsistency, which more than any thing else, raises his character in our estimation, because it shows how many private tastes and feelings he sacrificed, in order to do what he considered his duty to mankind.

PARADISE LOST.

External history.

The history of *Paradise Lost* extends over much of Milton's life. The actual composition is commonly supposed to have occupied the seven years between the Protector's death and the time (according to Aubrey) of its completion (1658-1665).*

But as far back as about 1640—if this be the date of the MS. in Milton's handwriting preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge—the subject had already suggested itself to his mind; and first of all not for epic, but for dramatic treatment. This MS gives a list of no less than 99 subjects, some from British history, but mostly from the Bible. Most prominent of all the subjects is *Paradise Lost*, of which there are four successive drafts, each more elaborate than the one preceding it. Milton was at this time about 34. "There are few facts in literary history more striking," says Masson (*Life of Milton* Vol. ii. p. 116) than this predetermination of Milton in his early manhood to the subject of the greatest work of his later life.

But the history goes still farther back. The resolve had been formed many years before to "leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let die." As a mere boy, his "masters and teachers" had remarked that when they prescribed for him an exercise of any kind "in English or other

* Prof. Saintsbury would double this period. He says he "has always, from internal evidence of a vague but not unsatisfying kind, been inclined to believe that the poem was actually begun not long after his blindness had begun to be a settled fact to him." This allows Milton a period of about 15 years for the production of *Paradise Lost*. See the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. vii. p. 116.

tongue," or if he wrote something "of his own choice," "the style, by some certain vital signs it had was likely to live." Never surely was more judicious praise bestowed on a boy, or so productive of results!

For some years the youthful Milton purposed writing his "magnum opus" in the Latin language. Doubtless too on a classical subject. Afterwards when he saw "it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins" (i. e. hard to beat both Virgil and Horace), he very wisely determined to "fix all the industry and art he could unite to the adorning of his native tongue." So a classical theme is abandoned for a British one; and for some years he contemplates an epic on King Arthur. But the resolution does not last long. That the story of Arthur was legend rather than history becomes a fatal objection to it for Milton's purposes. With the deepening of his religious convictions, as the country began to form into two separate camps, Milton abandoned a secular for a sacred subject.

That Milton was the first to write upon the Fall of Man cannot be affirmed. It is well known that four or five poems on the subject* existed before Milton wrote, and striking coincidences of thought have been pointed out between some of these and his poem. But to say that Milton was "indebted to any of his predecessors would be a misuse of language; for as works of imagination they cannot be named in the same breath along with the world-epic.†

* Among the works commonly cited in this connection are the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius (1601); Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas (1601; this was one of the most widely read books in Milton's boyhood); the *Adamo* of Andrieni (1613); the *Lucifer* of the Dutch poet Vondel (1654); and lastly, the *Paraphrase of Genesis* by Ciedmon, which was printed for the first time in 1655.

† Dr. R. Scott of Bombay handles this subject in a masterly manner in the Introduction to his great Commentary on Paradise Lost Book iv.

The Twelve Books of Paradise Lost.

I Starting not at the beginning of the story but in the midst of events, the poem opens with a picture of Hell, the place of punishment assigned to Satan and his followers. These had previously made war against the Highest, were overthrown and cast out of Heaven—and are now suffering the consequences of their crime.

II. At their solemn council it is resolved to carry on hostilities against Heaven, and the plan of their future operations is agreed on. Having heard of a new world and a new race that have stepped into their place, it is determined to find out their abode and seduce them from their allegiance to God. The execution of this scheme of revenge is entrusted to their leader Satan.

III. This bk. opens in Heaven. Satan is seen from there making his way to the new world. The Almighty signifies to the assembled angels what it is he purposes, and declares that Man will yield to his seductions; that the race must perish in consequence of their sinning, unless a Saviour and Mediator be found, who is willing to bear the penalty of death due to Man's transgression. The Son of God offers to die in Man's stead. Before this bk. closes, Satan has nearly reached his journey's end.

IV. Now we get the beginning of Milton's wonderful description of Paradise. Here Satan enters by stealth and while overhearing some conversation between Adam and Eve, learns about the interdicted fruit and the penalty of death attached to transgression.

V. The angel Raphael is sent down to warn Adam and Eve against the danger of seduction and tells them of the late rebellion of Satan and its consequences.

VI. The story of the rebellion is continued, and how after three days' war in Heaven, Satan and his crew are cast down to Hell this brings down the story to the poet's starting-point in bk. I.

VII. This bk. contains Raphael's account to Adam and Eve of the creation of the world they live in, as well as their own creation in the image and likeness of God.

VIII. Raphael now relates how the orbs surrounding the earth were brought into being and indicates their various motions. After hearing an account from Adam of all he

recollects of his life-story, the angel takes his leave of Paradise.

IX. Taking the likeness of a serpent, Satan induces Eve to eat the fatal fruit ; the likewise persuades her husband, who shares in her sin.

X. Sentence is passed on Adam and Eve and the serpent. Satan returns to his followers and tells them of his success ; on their exultation over it they are degraded into reptiles. Changes in Nature make earth a fitter residence for a fallen race. Adam and Eve are overwhelmed with sorrow as they realise all the woe they have brought on their posterity.

XI. Michael is sent down from Heaven to conduct Adam and Eve out of Paradise. He shows them visions of the future.

XII. Continuing his revelations, he touches on the coming to earth of the Son of God, whose office it is to undo the evil wrought by the Fall and inaugurate new Heavens and a new Earth, where righteousness shall reign in perpetuity. With such comforting assurances, he conducts Adam and Eve out of the Garden.

Milton's Treatment of his Subject.

The story on which *Paradise Lost* is based is composed of the simplest elements—a garden of fruit trees ; a man and a woman ; a solemn warning not to taste the fruit of one of the trees ; temptation to taste, coming from the mouth of a serpent ; neglect of the warning and expulsion from the garden in consequence. Such a story is hardly beyond the comprehension of the kindergarten. No poet had hitherto chosen it for his theme ; the materials, as we find them in *Genesis*, look more suitable for a simple idyll than to be the subject of an epic,—which is understood to be the most ambitious type of poetic production. To see the story absolutely at its baldest—and yet not bereft of its main outlines—we need only turn to Satan's mocking account of his experiences when he tells of his adventures in the garden.

Him by fraud I have seduced
 From his creator ; and, the more to increase
 Your wonder, with an apple ; he, thereat
 Offended, worth your laughter* hath given up
 Both his beloved Man, and all his world,
 To Sin and Death a prey.

(Notice how the "apple" is introduced to heighten the sarcasm. It is not mentioned in any other part of the poem.)

Wonder and laughter ! If this were a true view of the matter, what would be said of the verdict of Dr. Johnson (not biased in favour of Milton), that the subject of *Paradise Lost* is greater than that of the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*,—greater than the destruction of a city or the foundation of an empire ?

Let it be observed, first of all, that Milton is not content to take the Genesis account at its *face value*. Getting some hints from the later canonical writings, but adding far more from the wealth of his own mind, he creates a picture of the first human pair amid such conditions as were hardly dreamt of by the classical poets who sang about the "golden age." They live a life of perfect innocence and happiness, and are on familiar and friendly terms with the Son of God, who comes down to visit them now and then in their pleasant garden. Except that it is possible for them to lose all this good, otherwise they are perfectly circumstanced.

When the temptation meets them, it comes not from inward suggestions, but from outside of themselves,—indeed from another world, another sphere

* "Worth your laughter !" and so thought also a distinguished French critic (M. Scherer), who says that no one can read the ninth bk. of *Paradise Lost* (or the tenth) without a smile ! There are elements in the story that this critic has surely missed. In determining to depolarise it of all its mystical and allegorical meanings, he would rob the narrative of its most essential and inherent qualities, which even a child can hardly fail to recognize.

of existence ; and when they fell, it was not simply a yielding to sensuous appetite, but was a graver matter—it was nothing less than a moral revolt, a deliberate departure from their former allegiance to God, an assertion that they are independent of Him. They wanted “to be as gods.”

And now when their Divine Friend comes down as at other times to visit them, it appears at once that their attitude towards him is changed ; for they flee from his presence and conceal themselves among the trees of the garden. In that former state of innocence, they were half angelic and half human—hardly aware of the existence of their bodies. But now the fact is rudely brought to their minds—“the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked.”

Their relation to God being altered, this paradise is no longer a fitting abode for them. So they are driven from the garden ; and the life they now enter upon in the wide outer world is made bitter to them by the cursing of the ground, from which they have henceforth to support themselves. The introduction of the fierce extremes of heat and cold (by inclination of the Earth's axis, or alteration of the sun's path across the sky) suggests the idea that Man's revolt is a cosmic event—that Nature suffers with him, “as when a kingdom falls with its king.”

Up to this point, whatever modifications Milton introduces are of minor importance ; but we now come to additions that alter the simple character of the Mosaic story. These are introduced in connection with what he teaches with reference to three subjects, viz. (1) the significance of the Serpent (2) the scope and meaning of the Fall, and (3) the promise of future restoration.

Significance of the Serpent.

In the Mosaic narrative only a serpent (albeit a talking serpent) is spoken of. But the reflection of later times saw in the serpent an evil angel, who used the brute as his mouthpiece. Milton by acting upon this hint is able to carry his story back to a time before the creation of the world. He imagines (for there is little scripture warrant for it) that before the universe ever came into being, there was a revolt in Heaven among the angels that constituted the armies of the Almighty, and that the standard of rebellion was raised at the instigation of their leader—since known as Satan.

Such a rebellion could have only one issue. As a result of the war which it brought about, not less than one third of Heaven's original inhabitants are thrown down from the Empyrean to the pit of Hell, there to be punished everlastingly. It is to supply the room and place of these that the new race of Man is now brought into being. A universe is created for their uses, upon the central orb of which, (i. e. upon this earth of ours), with its revolving stars and planets, their dwelling-place is assigned them.

To this place, however, after a toilsome journey, Satan finds his way. After reconnoitering the ground and overhearing the conversation of Adam and Eve on the subject of the forbidden fruit, he proceeds to the task of frustrating the Almighty's design in the creation of this rival race; hoping to win over Man to *his* allegiance, and then to usurp the government of this new Empire. That this design succeeded beyond his most ardent hopes appears from the speech to his followers above referred to in which he recounts the easy victory he had won.

The introduction of such an episode gives Milton the fullest exercise for his poetic gifts. It gives him the

opportunity to tell us not only about the "war in Heaven," but also about the creation of the World and of mankind. Masson may well say that such a theme was "Miltonic enough even for Milton."

Scope and Meaning of the Fall.

One main fascination of his subject lay in the connection that existed in Milton's mind between the events that took place in Paradise and the subsequent course of human history. The story of "Man's first disobedience" was no isolated event, and it mattered more to him to show the relation of the Fall to future times than to give the poem a heroic background by singing of the wars between good and bad angels.*

Judged as epic poetry the last books of *Paradise Lost* may not be on a level with the first. Milton in these books was attempting a task greater than had ever been attempted before, greater perhaps than has been attempted since. This task had been in his mind from the beginning, for it is laid down in the Invocation, where he says his purpose is to sing of—

Man's first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us and regain the blissful seat."

* That Milton's theology was in keeping with his age with its "dumpy little quartos of controversy and piety" is but natural. It is not easy to get at the 17th century point of view. Truth was not then something "seen through a glass darkly," but beheld full-orbed and therefore quite reducible to system. Perhaps the main objection to some of these contemporary schemes of divinity—of which Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* neither sinks below nor rises above the level—is just the objection to the old cosmology, viz. that the centre of gravity is wrong. In starting from Adam and the Fall, in making this the foundation for a theological superstructure in which Christ figures as a contingent and subordinate person—as the "second Adam"—they make the same error as if they said the sun went round the earth, instead of the earth round the sun.

In these familiar lines it is indicated that not only Adam's sin, but its fatal consequences to the whole human family of which he was the ancestor, predominatingly occupied the mind of the poet at the start. For several books not a word more is heard on the topic—but the poet did not forget his opening engagement and it is one of the main ideas running through books x., xi., xii.

The idea reappears as soon as he can find a place for it in his poem. After eating of the forbidden fruit, as soon as he has time for reflection, Adam is overwhelmed with sorrow and despair—not so much for what it has brought on himself, as because he knows the whole of his posterity must suffer the consequences of his act. In his single person he stood for the race; and the moment he fell, all mankind fell too.

Loss of Original Righteousness.

A type of thinkers (of whom Pelagius is chief) have taught that the doctrine of inherited sin is a libel upon human nature. But the teaching of scripture—anticipating by more than two thousand years the scientific doctrine of heredity—has at least the merit of not ignoring the facts. Who will deny the existence of grave discords in human nature as we now know it? Who will deny that a problem of evil exists that has to be solved? The demands of truth can hardly be satisfied by denying the seriousness of the case. If the puritan solution took a dark view of the present condition of human nature, be it remembered that it took a correspondingly bright view of the constitution of Man, as he came forth fresh from the hand of God. What is disparaged is not nature but un-nature—the theory rightly understood does not assert the pravity (xii. 288), but the depravity of human nature. For

though morally fallen, it is held that Man is constitutionally noble.*

Promise of future Restoration.

Michael's discourse on future things shows the workings of "original sin" as a taint which, inherited from the progenitor of the race, broadens down among his descendants. But from the very first there is another power as well at work, opposing if not able to stem it. This "power not ourselves which makes for righteousness" is grace divine in men eminent for piety, such as Abel, Enoch, Noah, etc. When such individuals exert the weight of their authority to overcome evil, they are only mocked at and persecuted for their pains.

Milton in dealing with these early narratives has admirably caught the spirit of the Old Testament writers; as he does in the more rapid survey of Israelite history that comes after. When he descends to later times the narration becomes very condensed and the thought is not always clear. The least satisfactory portion of the discourse is where it deals with the earthly life of Jesus, the promised seed of the woman, who comes into the world to bruise the

* Some of the above distinctions are borrowed from the writings of my teacher the late Dr. John Laidlaw, from whom I quote the following: "It is a proof of the inner unity of Scripture thought, that its teaching as to the presence of sin throughout the world is so thoroughly in accordance with its teaching as to man's origin and nature. Evil, according to the Bible, is no inherent part of man's nature as created; yet its actual presence among mankind is explained in perfect consistency with this initial truth." In discussing elsewhere the vexed problem of the origin of evil, he makes the suggestive remark that the element of insolubility enters into the very nature of evil, quoting from Meander who says: "It lies in the idea of evil that it is an utterly inexplicable thing and whoever would explain it, nullifies the very idea of it." Milton had no speculative genius and was ill qualified to deal with the subject of the origin of evil except from the poetical point of view.

head of the serpent according to ancient prophesy. Just here (where it was to be hoped that the poet might rise as to a great occasion), his inspiration fails him. Suppressing his own personality, he buries his meaning under loads of scriptural texts, some obscure, some far-fetched, some of doubtful application to the context.

Thus from Michael's gallery of scripture portraits, the greatest figure is conspicuously absent. The shadowy Messiah of typology is there, and the "non-natural magnified man" of Arian speculation; also a sort of spocryphal figure, somewhat suggestive of St. George in the act of slaying the Dragon (see xii. 429 ff.); but when the poet is upon the subject of the earthly career of Christ, there is no presentation of One who was meek and lowly in heart, who went about continually doing good, the friend of the outcaste and the sinner. But the poet makes some amends in *Paradise Regained*.

The three principal motives in Michael's discourse on the Mount of Vision are the following :—

1. To show to the fullest extent the disastrous results of the Fall.

2. To indicate the victory over Sin and Satan by the Seed of the woman.

3. To round off the poem by the mention of the new Heavens and Earth where man will dwell in bliss with God after Sin has been finally swept out of the Universe.

"Literature and Dogma."

That Milton's inspiration fails him in these last two books has often been alleged, but with little foundation of truth. The grand style never deserts him. We have Coleridge's testimony to the value of this part of the poem, which he thought to be more deserv-

ing of careful study than any other.* Even in those three or four passages whose motive is most purely dogmatic, it can hardly be said that the theologian takes the pen out of the hand of the poet.† For he knows how to clothe dogmas in the rich imagery of scripture, and how to kindle party watchwords with his glowing faith. Thus he is able to conform in the main to his matchless definition of poetry—for if not always “simple,” such passages are “sensuous” (i.e. concrete) and “impassioned.”‡ If Michael’s discourse is remarkable for one thing more than another, it is for the close, and loving and long acquaintance with the Bible which it reveals on Milton’s part. We are reminded of that other great puritan genius, the author of the *Pilgrim’s Progress*.

The Characters.

The persons who take part in the action of bks. x. xi. xii. are the following:—the Father, the Son, Satan, Sin and Death, Adam and Eve, and lastly Michael. It will now be indicated as briefly as possible what part each contributes to the action.

1. The **Father** who has observed all that has taken place in Eden between Adam and Eve and the Serpent, exonerates the angelic guard (when they come with their report) from all responsibility for Satan’s entrance. He sends his Son to judge the

*“I wish the *Paradise Lost* were more carefully read and studied than I can see any ground for believing it is, especially those parts which...are scarcely read at all; as for example, Adam’s vision of future events in the 11th and 12th books.” *Lit. Rem.* i. 169-78.

† The most difficult from the doctrinal point of view are the following:—x. 58-62 (Christ both Ransom and Redeemer); xii. 280-305 (the weakness of the law); xii. 393-426; (Christ’s vicarious death). The notes deal with these passages as fully as the design of a book like this permits, but an exhaustive treatment would require a volume.

‡ That poetry should be “simple, sensuous, and impassioned” is an opinion maintained in Milton’s *Tractate on Education*, 6.

offenders. Later, he declares that Sin and Death, when about to seek for prey on Earth, are merely his ministers, carrying out his eternal and unchangeable purposes. He gives command to his mighty angels to change earth's climate, that it may be fit for the abode of sinners. He accepts through the Son the penitential prayer of Adam and Eve. Michael is sent by Him to expel them from the garden.

2. The **Son** is sent down by the Father to pronounce judgment on erring mankind. After enquiring into their offence, he passes the sentence of doom; but when he clothes their nakedness, he reveals himself in so mild a character that afterwards they are led to bear up and hope for better things. The prayers the transgressors poured out from full hearts are presented by the Son to the Father, who accepts them and puts away his wrath. In bk. xii, the Son's coming to Earth is foretold by Michael, who briefly touches on his life, death, resurrection, ascension, and return to God's right hand, from whence he shall come to judge the world (separating the evil from the good), and create new heavens and Earth, wherein shall dwell eternal righteousness.

3. **Satan.** He is not present at the time of the trial and sentence of Adam and Eve, but is convicted by his flight—for (taking fright at the coming of the Son) he had disappeared into the darkness that was his natural element. But when night comes on, he is emboldened to appear again, and—playing the eavesdropper, as he had done on a former occasion—he learns the terms of his sentence from the conversation between the guilty husband and wife. Overjoyed that the punishment he is doomed to suffer has been put off till a distant date, he sets off on his return journey hellwards in a spirit of triumph and exultation. At the zenith (or opening of the universe) he encounters his offspring (described in x. 431 as "his two main arms") hastening on their way to meet him. He is proud of their engineering work by which they have joined together Hell and the new universe, and facilitated his homeward journey. Bidding them good speed on their errand below he soon arrives in Hell, where he reveals himself in a dramatic fashion to his followers, whom he finds in Pandemonium awaiting his return. As he tells of his success in the seduction of Man, both he and they are transformed into reptiles. This is but a temporary punishment for their unseemly triumph over a hellish ~~and~~, and has no connection with the "curse" pronounced for deed

itself. The curse consists in the bruising of Satan's head by the seed of the woman i. e. by Jesus Christ.*

Near the end of the poem (xii. 397, 432) we learn that the bruising of the head does not refer to "local wounds" but to the death and the victory over death of the Son of God. This "God-like act" will annul man's doom and at the same time it—

Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength
Defeating Sin and Death, his two main arms,
And fix far deeper in his head their stings
Than temporal death shall bruise the Victor's heel.

4. **Sin and Death** are still faithful to their watch as guardians of the mouth of Hell (sitting "in counterview within the gates") up to the time when our first parents are judged for their disobedience. But the tidings of Satan's success travel to them by mysterious conveyance, and the joy that springs up in their hearts impels them to go forth to meet their chief and visit the scene of his triumph. As they proceed on their way, they throw up a wondrous ridge or solid matter gathered out of the scum of chaos, in the manner building a permanent road between Hell and the newly formed world. As they are at the end of their task their father Satan draws near, admires their bridge, and sends them on their way below with his best wishes. Their alighting on earth is the occasion of the Almighty's second address to his angels—in which he bids them note that Sin and Death are only carrying out those things he has determined. For, after being glutted with all earth's taint, they shall be hurled back to Hell, no longer to act as guardians of its gates—for they will so block up its mouth and seal its ravenous jaws that Hell will neither require gates nor warders in future. (x. 63, 67).

5. **Adam and Eve.** The sullen and querulous mood they were in at the end of the ninth bk. extends into the tenth. When the Son comes down to judge them, they are ashamed to be seen and conceal themselves among the trees, but are discovered.

*Nearly a score of references to this event will be found within the compass of bks. x, xi., xii. (See e.g. x., 180, 191, 499, 1031; xi. 116, 155; xii. 125, 148, 233, 260, 273, 327, 379, 383, 450, 543, 600, 623.) To introduce all these references to Satan's punishment after the statement of x. 169 that "more to know concerned not man" i. e. that the serpent was *more than* a mere brute) may seem an inconsistency.

When questioned about his fault Adam ignobly shelters himself behind the weaker woman ; as she does behind the serpent who had given her of the tree to eat. The punishment of death is removed far off, but the remainder of their lives is to be labour and sorrow. Before returning to the Father's presence, the son clothes their nakedness, a symbolic act signifying, "imputed righteousness." On seeing changes taking place in the climate (earth becoming half a chaos) Adam begins to take his crime exceedingly to heart ; and in his lonely grief will neither let Eve comfort him, nor try to comfort Eve in her even greater sorrow. But at length a beautiful reconciliation takes place between them, and in a healthier frame of mind they begin to take a more sober view of their situation. In this spirit they present their prayers to God, and through the Son they are accepted. *But though they obtain forgiveness for their fault and are received back into God's fellowship, it is none the less necessary that they should abandon the "happy garden" for a soil more befitting their ruined moral condition.

6. It is the office of the archangel **Michael** to carry out the sentence of expulsion. He appears before Adam and Eve in human form, but with very great dignity and state. Previous to their dismissal, he unfolds to Adam (while Eve is in a state of trance), first in a series of visions, the fortunes of his descendants as far as the Flood ; thereafter (bk. xii.) in narrative form, the history of the chosen race till the coming and final triumph of the Messiah.

PARADISE LOST.
x. xi. xii.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

Man's transgression known, the guardian angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved, God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors, who descends and gives sentence accordingly ; then in pity clothes them both, and re-ascends. Sin and Death sitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in Hell, but to follow Satan there higher up to the place of man. To make the way easier from Hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad highway or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made ; then preparing for earth they meet him proud of his success returning to Hell ; their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full assembly, relates with boasting his success against Man ; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed with himself suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise ; then deluded with a show of the forbidden tree springing up before them, they greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death. God fortells the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things ; but for the present commands His angels to make several alterations in the heavens and elements. Adam, more and more perceiving his fallen condition, heavily bewails ; rejects the condolment of Eve ; she persists and at length appeases him ; then to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be revenged on the Serpent, and exhorts her with him to seek peace of the offended Deity by repentance and supplication.

Man's transgression is known in Heaven

MEANWHILE the heinous and spiteful act
 Of Satan done in Paradise, and how
 He in the serpent had perverted Eve,
 Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,
 Was known in Heaven ; for what can 'scape the eye
 Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
 Omniscient ? who in all things wise and just,
 Hindered not Satan to attempt the mind
 Of Man, with strength entire, and free-will arm'd,
 Complete to have discover'd and repulst 10
 Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend.
 For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd
 The high injunction not to taste that fruit,
 Whoever tempted ; which they, not obeying,
 Incurr'd, (what could they less ?) the penalty, 15
 And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.

The angelic guards confess that Satan has outwitted them.

Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste
 The angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
 For Man, for of his state by this they knew,
 Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stolen 20
 Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news
 From Earth arriv'd at Heaven gate, displeas'd
 All were who heard ; dim sadness did not spare
 That time celestial visages, yet mixt
 With pity, violated not their bliss. 25
 About the new arriv'd, in multitudes
 Th' ethereal people ran, to hear and know
 How all befell : they towards the Throne Supreme
 Accountable made haste to make appear

With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance, 30
And easily approv'd : when the Most High
Eternal Father, from his secret cloud,
Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.

The sinners were free agents though the sin was foreknown.

'Assembl'd angels, and ye Powers return'd
From unsuccessful charge, be not dismay'd, 35
Nor troubl'd at these tidings from the Earth,
Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
When first this Tempter cross'd the gulf from Hell.
I told ye then he should prevail and speed 40
On his bad errand ; Man should be seduc't
And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
Against his Maker ; no decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
Or touch with lightest moment of impulse 45
His free will, to her own inclining left
In even scale. But full'n he is ; and now
What rests but that the mortal sentence pass
On his transgression, death denounc't that day ?
Which he presumes already vain and void, 50
Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
By some immediate stroke ; but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.
Justice shall not return as bounty scorn'd.

The Son of God is sent down as Judge.

But whom send I to judge them ? whom but thee, 55
Vicegerent Son ? to thee I have transferr'd
All judgment whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.
Easy it might be seen that I intend
Mercy colleague with justice, sending thee

Man's Friend, his Mediator, his design'd 60
 Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntary,
 And destin'd Man himself to judge Man fall'n.'

So spake the Father, and unfolding bright
 Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
 Blaz'd forth unclouded Deity ; he full 65
 Resplendent all his father manifest
 Express'd, and thus divinely answer'd mild.

'Father eternal, thine is to decree,
 Mine, both in Heav'n and Earth to do thy will
 Supreme, that thou in me thy Son belov'd 70
 May'st ever rest well pleas'd. I go to judge
 On Earth these thy transgressors, but thou know'st,
 Whoever judg'd, the worst on me must light,
 When time shall be, for so I undertook
 Before thee ; and not repenting, this obtain 75
 Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
 On me deriv'd ; yet I shall temper so
 Justice with mercy, as may illustrate most
 Them fully satisfied, and thee appease.
 Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none 80
 Are to behold the judgment, but the judg'd,
 Those two ; the third best absent is condemn'd,
 Convict by flight, and rebel to all law :
 Conviction to the serpent none belongs.'

Thus saying from his radiant seat he rose 85
 Of high collateral glory : him Thrones and Powers,
 Princedoms, and Dominations ministrant
 Accompanied to Heaven gate, from whence
 Eden and all the coast in prospect lay.
 Down he descended straight ; the speed of gods 90
 Time counts not, tho' with swiftest minutes wing'd.

The guilty pair are questioned concerning their fault.

Now was the sun in western cadence low
 From noon, and gentle airs due at their hour
 To fan the Earth now wak'd, and usher in
 The evening cool ; when he from wrath more cool 95
 Came, the mild Judge and Intercessor both,
 To sentence Man : the voice of God they heard,
 Now walking in the garden, by soft winds
 Brought to their ears, while day declin'd ; they heard,
 And from his presence hid themselves among 100
 The thickest trees, both man and wife ; till God
 Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud.

'Where art thou, Adam, wont with joy to meet
 My coming seen far off ? I miss thee here,
 Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with solitude, 105
 Where obvious duty erewhile appear'd unsought :
 Or come I less conspicuous, or what change
 Absents thee, or what chance detains ? Come forth !'
 He came ; and with him Eve, more loath, though first
 To offend ; discountenanc't both, and discompos'd ;
 Love was not in their looks, either to God
 Or to each other ; but apparent guilt,
 And shame, and perturbation, and despair, *agitation of*
 Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile.
 Whence Adam faltering long, thus answer'd brief. 115

'I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice
 Afraid, being naked, hid myself.' To whom
 The gracious Judge without revile repli'd.

'My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not fear'd
 But still rejoic't ; how is it now become 120
 So dreadful to thee ? that thou art naked, who
 Hath told thee ? hast thou eaten of the tree
 Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat ?'

To whom thus Adam sore beset repli'd.
 'O Heav'n ! in evil strait this day I stand ; 125
 Before my Judge, either to undergo
 Myself the total crime, or to accuse
 My other self, the partner of my life ;
 Whose failing, while her faith to me remains,
 I should conceal, and not expose to blame 130
 By my complaint ; but strict necessity
 Subdues me, and calamitous constraint ;
 Lest on my head both sin and punishment,
 However insupportable, be all
 Devolv'd ; though should I hold my peace, yet thou 135
 Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.
 This woman whom thou mad'st to be my help,
 And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
 So fit, so acceptable, so divine,
 That from her hand I could suspect no ill, 140
 And what she did, whatever in itself,
 Her doing seem'd to justify the deed ;
 She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.'

To whom the sovran Presence thus repli'd.
 'Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey - 145
 Before His voice ? or was she made thy guide,
 Superior, or but equal, that to her
 Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
 Wherein God set thee above her, made of thee,
 And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd 150
 Hers in all real dignity ? Adorn'd
 She was indeed, and lovely to attract
 Thy love, not thy subjection ; and her gifts
 Were such as under government well seem'd ;
 Unseemly to bear rule ; which was thy part 155
 And person, hadst thou known thyself aright.'

So having said, he thus to Eve in few :
 'Say, Woman, what is this which thou hast done?'
 To whom sad Eve with shame nigh overwhelm'd,
 'Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge 160
 Bold or loquacious, thus abash't repli'd.
 'The serpent me beguil'd and I did eat.'

The Serpent is first sentenced ;

Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
 To judgment he proceeded on the accus'd
 Serpent though brute, unable to transfer 165
 The guilt on him who made him instrument
 Of mischief, and polluted from the end :
 Of his creation ; justly then accurst
 As vitiated in nature : more to know
 Concern'd not Man (since he no further knew) 170
 Nor alter'd his offence ; yet God at last
 To Satan first in sin his doom appli'd,
 Though in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best :
 And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall.

'Because thou hast done this, thou art accurst 175
 Above all cattle, each beast of the field ;
 Upon thy belly grovelling thou shalt go,
 And dust shalt eat all the days of thy life.
 Between thee and the woman I will put
 Enmity, and between thine and her seed ; 180
 Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.'

So spake this Oracle, then verifi'd
 When Jesus Son of Mary second Eve,
 Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heav'n,
 Prince of the air ; then rising from his grave, 185
 Spoil'd principalities and powers, triumpht
 In open show, and with ascension bright
 Captivity led captive through the air,

The realm itself of Satan long usurpt,
Whom he shall tread at last under our feet ; 190
Even he who now foretold his fatal bruise.

then the woman ;

And to the woman thus his sentence turn'd.
'Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
By thy conception ; children thou shalt bring
In sorrow forth, and to thy husband's will 195
Thine shall submit, he over thee shall rule.'

and last of all the man.

On Adam last thus judgment he pronounc'd.
'Because thou hast heark'nd to the voice of thy wife,
And eaten of the tree concerning which
I charg'd thee, saying: "Thou shalt not eat thereof;" 200
Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow
Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life ;
Thorns also and thistles it shall bring thee forth
Unbid, and thou shalt eat th' herb of the field ;
In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, 205
Till thou return unto the ground, for thou
Out of the ground wast taken, know thy birth,
For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.'
So judg'd he Man, both Judge and Saviour sent ;
And th' instant stroke of death, denounc't that day, 210
Remov'd far off ;

The Son of God clothes their nakedness,

then pitying how they stood

Before him naked to the air, that now
Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of servant to assume ;
As when he wash'd his servants' feet, so now 215
As Father of his family he clad

Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
 Or as the snake with youthful coat repaid ;
 And thought not much to clothe his enemies :
 Nor he their outward only with the skins 220
 Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
 Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness,
 Arraying cover'd from his Father's sight.

and re-ascends to his Father.

To him with swift ascent he up return'd
 Into his blissful bosom re-assum'd 225
 In glory as of old, to him appeas'd,
 All-though all-knowing, what had passed with Man
 Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.

Sin and Death at Hell's gate learn what has
 befallen in Paradise.

Meanwhile ere thus was sinn'd and judg'd on Earth,
 Within the gates of Hell sat Sin and Death 230
 In counterview within the gates, that now
 Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
 Far into Chaos, since the Fiend pass'd through,
 Sin opening, who thus now to Death began.

'O son, why sit we here each other viewing 235
 Idly, while Satan our great author thrives
 In other worlds, and happier seat provides
 For us his offspring dear ? It cannot be
 But that success attends him ; if mishap,
 Ere this he had return'd, with fury driv'n 240
 By his avengers, since no place like this
 Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
 Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
 Wings growing, and dominion given me large
 Beyond this Deep ;(whatever draws me on, 245

Or sympathy, or some connatural force
 Powerful at greatest distance to unite
 With secret amity things of like kind
 By secretest conveyance. Thou my shade
 Inseparable must with me along: 250
 For Death from Sin no power can separate.

They determine to construct a way between Hell and
 the New World.

But lest the difficulty of passing back
 Stay his return perhaps over this gulf
 Impassable, impervious, let us try
 (Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine 255
 Not unagreeable), to found a path
 Over this main from Hell to that new world
 Where Satan now prevails; a monument
 Of merit high to all the infernal host,
 Easing their passage hence, for intercourse. 260
 Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
 Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
 By this new-felt attraction and instinct.'

Whom thus the meagre Shadow answer'd soon.
 'Go, whither fate, and inclination strong 265
 Leads thee, I shall not lag behind, nor err
 The way, thou leading, (such a scent I draw
 Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
 The savour of Death from all things there that live):
 Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest 270
 Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.'

So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
 Of mortal change on Earth. (As when a flock
 Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,
 Against the day of battle, to a field, 275
 Where armies lie encampt, come flying, lur'd

With scent of living carcases design'd
 For death, the following day, in bloody fight :
 • So scented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
 His nostril wide into the murky air, 280
 Sagacious of his quarry from so far. *Keen to sense it*
 Then both from out Hell-gates, into the waste
 Wide anarchy of Chaos damp and dark
 Flew diverse; and with power (their power was great)
 Hovering upon the waters; what they met 285
 Solid or slimy, as in raging sea
 Tost up and down, together crowded drove
 From each side shoaling towards the mouth of Hell.
 (As when two polar winds blowing adverse
 Upon the Cronian sea, together drive *Arcturion Sea* 290
 Mountains of ice, that stop the imagin'd way
 Beyond Petsora eastward, to the rich *Sea of Caspian*
 Cathaian coast.) The aggregated soil
 Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
 As with a trident smote, and fix't as firm 295
 As Delos floating once; the rest his look
 Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move,
 And with Asphaltic slime; broad as the gate,
 Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
 They fasten'd; and the mole immense wrought on 300
 Over the foaming Deep high archt, a bridge
 Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
 Immovable of this now fenceless World,
 Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,
 Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to Hell. 305
 So, if great things to small may be compar'd,
 Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
 From Susa his Memnonian palace high
 Came to the sea, and over Hellespont

Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd, 310
And scourg'd with many a stroke the indignant waves.

They continue the bridge till it touches the zenith
of the Universe.

Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock
Over the vext abyss, following the track
Of Satan, to the self-same place where he 315
First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
From out of Chaos, to the outside bare
Of this round World: with pins of adamant
And chains they made all fast, too fast they made
And durable; and now in little space 320
The confines met of empyrean Heav'n
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
With long reach interpos'd; three several ways
In sight, to each of these three places led.

They see Satan, now a fugitive from justice,
coming towards them.

And now their way to Earth they had descri'd, 325
To Paradise first tending, when beheld
Satan in likeness of an angel bright
Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering
His zenith, while the sun in Aries rose:
Disguis'd he came, but those his children dear 330
Their parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
He after Eve seduc't, unminded slunk
Into the wood fast by, and changing shape
To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act,
By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded 335
Upon her husband, saw their shame that sought
Vain covertures; but when he saw descend

The Son of God to judge them, terrifi'd
 He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
 The present, fearing guilty what his wrath 340
 Might suddenly inflict ; that past, return'd
 By night, and listening where the hapless pair
 Sat in their sad discourse, and various plaint,
 Thence gather'd his own doom ; which understood
 Not instant, but of future time, with joy 345
 And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd ;

His joy is great at beholding his offspring and their
 marvellous work.

And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
 Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhoped *bridge (?) by*
 Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear.
 Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight 350
 Of that stupendous bridge his joy increas'd.
 Long he admiring stood, till Sin, his fair
 Enchanting daughter, thus the silence broke.

Satan is hailed by them as monarch of a new world.

'O parent, these are thy magnific deeds,
 Thy trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own, 355
 Thou art their author and prime architect :
 For I no sooner in my heart divin'd,
 My heart, which by a secret harmony
 Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet,
 That thou on Earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks 360
 Now also evidence, but straight I felt,
 Though distant from thee worlds between, yet felt
 That I must after thee with this thy son,
 Such fatal consequence unites us three :
 Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds, 365
 Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
 Detain from following thy illustrious track.

Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
 Within Hell-gates till now, thou us impowered
 To fortify thus far, and overlay 370
 With this portentous bridge the dark abyss.
 Thine now is all this World, thy virtue hath won
 What thy hands builded not; thy wisdom gain'd,
 With odds what war hath lost, and fully aveng'd
 Our foil in Heav'n; here thou shalt monarch reign, 375
 There didst not; there let him still victor sway,
 As battle hath adjudg'd, from this new World
 Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
 And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
 Of all things parted by the empyreal bounds, 380
 His quadrature, from thy orbicular World;
 Or try thee now more dangerous to his throne.'

He speeds Sin and Death on their way to Earth.

Whom thus the Prince of Darkness answer'd glad.
 'Fair daughter, and thou son and grandchild both,
 High proof ye now have giv'n to be the race 385
 Of Satan (for I glory in the name,
 Antagonist of Heaven's almighty King),
 Amply have merited of me, of all
 Th' infernal empire, that so near Heav'n's door
 Triumphal with triumphal act have met, 390
 Mine with this glorious work; and made one realm
 Hell and this World, one realm. one continent
 Of easy thoroughfare. Therefore while I
 Descend through darkness, on your road with ease
 To my associate powers, them to acquaint 395
 With these successes, and with them rejoice,
 You two this way, among these numerous orbs,
 All yours, right down to Paradise descend;
 There dwell and reign in bliss; thence on the earth

Dominion exercise and in the air, 400
 Chiefly on Man, sole lord of all declar'd,
 Him first make sure your ^{Plague} thrall, and lastly kill.
 My substitutes I send ye. and create
 Plenipotent on earth of matchless might ^{now}
 Issuing from me ; on your joint vigour now, 405
 My hold of his new kingdom all depends,
 Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
 If your joint power prevails the affairs of Hell
 No detriment need fear, go and be strong.'

and pursues his own way to Pandemonium.

" So saying he dismiss'd them : they with speed 410
 Their course through thickest constellations held
 Spreading their bane ; the blasted stars lookt wan,
 And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse
 Then suffer'd. The other way Satan went down
 The causey to Hell-gate ; on either side 415
 Disparted Chaos overbuilt exclaim'd,
 And with rebounding surge the bars assail'd,
 That scorn'd his indignation : through the gate,
 Wide open and unguarded, Satan pass'd,
 And all about found desolate ; for those ^{Shades} ^{in wait} 420
 Appointed to sit there, had left their charge,
 Flown to the upper world ; the rest were all
 Far to the inland retir'd, about the walls
 Of Pandemonium, city and proud seat
 Of Lucifer, so by allusion called, 425
 Of that bright star to Satan paragon'd : ^{Guardians}
 There kept their watch the legions, while the Grand
 In council sat, solicitous what chance
 Might intercept their emperor sent ; so he
 Departing gave command, and they observ'd. 430
 As when the Tartar from his Russian foe

By Astracan over the snowy plains
 Retires, or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
 Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
 The realm of Aladule, in his retreat 435
 To Taurus or Casbeen : so these the late
 Heav'n-banisht host, left desert utmost Hell
 Many a dark league, reduc't in careful watch
 Round their metropolis, and now expecting
 Each hour their great adventurer from the search 440
 Of foreign worlds : he through the midst unmarkt,
 In show plebeian angel militant
 Of lowest order, past ; and from the door
 Of that Plutonian hall, invisible
 Ascended his high throne which, under state 445
 Of richest texture spread, at the upper end
 Was plac't in regal lustre.

His followers welcome their returned chief.

Down a while

He sate, and round about him saw unseen :
 At least, as from a cloud, his fulgent head
 And shape star-bright appear'd, or brighter, clad 450
 With what permissive glory since his fall
 Was left him, or false glitter : all amaz'd
 At that so sudden blaze, the Stygian throng
 Bent their aspect, and whom they wish'd beheld,
 Their mighty chief return'd : loud was the acclaim : 455
 Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
 Rais'd from their dark divan, and with like joy
 Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand
 Silence, and with these words attention won. 460

He proudly boasts of his easy conquest of Man,
 'Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 For in possession such, not only of right,

I call ye and declare ye now, return'd
Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal pit
Abominable, accursed, the house of woe, 465
And dungeon of our tyrant : now possess,
As lords, a spacious World, to our native Heaven
Little inferior, by my adventure hard
• With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell
What I have done, what suffer'd, with what pain 470
Voyag'd the unreal, vast, unbounded Deep
Of horrible confusion ; over which
By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd
To expedite your glorious march ; but I
Toil'd out my uncouth passage, forc't to ride 475
The untractable abyss, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild, . . .
That jealous of their secrets fiercely oppos'd
My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
Protesting Fate supreme ; thence how I found 480
The new-created World, which fame in Heav'n
Long had foretold, a fabric wonderful
Of absolute perfection, therein Man,
Plac'd in a Paradise, by our exile
Made happy ; him by fraud I have seduc'd 485
From his Creator, and the more to increase
Your wonder, with an apple ; he, thereat
Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up
Both his beloved Man, and all this World,
To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us, 490
Without our hazard, labour, or alarm,
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.

And scorns the terms of his sentence.

True is, me also He hath judged, or rather
 Me not, but the brute serpent in whose shape . 495
 Man I deceiv'd : that which to me belongs,
 Is enmity, which he will put between
 Me and mankind ; I am to bruise his heel ;
 His seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head :
 A world who would not purchase with a bruise, ' 500
 Or much more grievous pain ? Ye have the account
 Of my performance ; what remains, ye gods,
 But up and enter now into full bliss ?

Put he and his chiefs are suddenly changed into
 hissing serpents.

So having said, awhile he stood, expecting
 Their universal shout and high applause 505
 To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues
 A dismal universal hiss, the sound
 Of public scorn ; he wonder'd, but not long
 Had leisure, wondering at himself now more : 510
 His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
 His arms clung to his ribs, his legs entwining
 Each other, till supplanted down he fell
 A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
 Reluctant, but in vain ; a greater power 515
 Now rul'd him, punisht in the shape he sinn'd,
 According to his doom : he would have spoke,
 But hiss for hiss return'd with forked tongue
 To forked tongue ; for now were all transform'd
 Alike, to serpents all as accessories 520
 To his bold riot : dreadful was the din
 Of hissing through the hall, thick swarming now
 With complicated monsters head and tail,

Scorpion and Asp, and Amphishæna dire,
 Cerastes horn'd, Hydrus, and Ellops drear, 525
 And Dipsas (not so thick swarm'd once the soil
 Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
 Ophiusa): but still greatest he the midst,
 Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the Sun
 Engender'd in the Pythian vale on silme, 530
 Huge Python; and his power no less he seem'd
 Above the rest still to retain; they all
 Him follow'd issuing forth to the open field,
 Where all yet left of that revolted rout
 Heav'n fall'n, in station stood or just array, 535
 Sublime with expectation when to see
 In triumph issuing forth their glorious chief;
 They saw, but other sight instead, a crowd
 Of ugly serpents; horror on them fell,
 And horrid sympathy; for what they saw, 540
 They felt themselves now changing: down their arms,
 Down fell both spear and shield, down they as fast,
 And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form
 Catcht by contagion; like in punishment, *Sympathy*
 As in their crime Thus was the applause they meant,
 Turn'd ~~in~~ exploding hiss, triumph to shame *545*
 Cast on themselves from their own mouths.

They eat fruit which turns into ashes in their mouths.

There stood

A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
 His will who reigns above, to aggravate *in time by the*
 Their penance, laden with fair fruit like that 550
 Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve
 Us'd by the Tempter: on that prospect strange
 Their earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining
 For one forbidden tree a multitude

Now ris'n, to work them further woe or shame ; 555
 Yet parcht with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
 Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,
 But on they roll'd in heaps, and up the trees
 Climbing, sat thicker than the snaky locks
 That curl'd Megæra : Greedily they pluck'd 560
 The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
 Near that bituminous lake where Sedom flam'd ;
 This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
 Deceiv'd ; they fondly thinking to allay
 Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit 565
 Chew'd bitter ashes, which the offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected : oft they assay'd,
 Hunger and thirst constraining, drugg'd as oft,
 With hatefulest disrelish writh'd their jaws
 With soot and cinders fill'd ; so oft they fell 570
 Into the same illusjon, not as Man
 Whom they triumph'd once laps't. Thus were they
 plagu'd
 And worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss,
 Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd ;
 Yearly enjoin'd, some say, to undergo 575
 This annual humbling certain number of days,
 To dash their pride, and joy for Man seduc't.

Traditions relating to the serpent.

However some tradition they dispers'd
 Among the heathen of their purchase got,
 And fabl'd how the Serpent, whom they call'd 580
 Ophion, with Eurynome, the wide-
 Encroaching Eve perhaps, had first the rule
 Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driv'n
 And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.

Sin and Death, now arrived in Paradise, confer together.

Meanwhile in Paradise the hellish pair 585
Too soon arriv'd ; Sin, there in power before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant ; behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet on pale horse
On his pale horse : to whom Sin thus began. 590

'Second of Satan sprung, all-conquering Death,
What think'st thou of our empire now, though earn'd
With travail difficult, not better far to sit in ease
Than still at Hell's dark threshold to have sat watch,
Unnam'd, undreaded, and thyself half-starved ?' 595

Whom thus the Sin-born monster answered soon.
'To me, who with eternal famine pine,
Alike is hell, or Paradise, or Heaven ;
There best, where most with ravine I may meet :
Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems 600
To stuff this maw, this vast unhide-bound corpse.'

To whom the incestuous mother thus repli'd.
'Thou therefore, on these herbs, and fruits, and flow'rs,
Feed first ; on each beast next, and fish, and fowl ;
No homely morsels : and whatever thing 605
The scythe of Time mows down, devour unspar'd ;
Till I in Man residing through the race,
His thoughts, his looks, words, actions, all infect,
And season him thy last and sweetest prey.'

This said, they both betook them several ways, 610
Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for destruction to mature
Sooner or later.

• They are but ministers for carrying out the Almighty's
purposes.

Which the Almighty seeing,

From his transcendent seat the saints among,
 To those bright Orders utter'd thus his voice. 615
 'See, with what heat these dogs of Hell advance
 To waste and havoc yonder World, which I
 So fair and good created ; and had still
 Kept in that state, had not the folly of Man
 Let in these wasteful furies, who impute 620
 Folly to me ; so doth the Prince of Hell
 And his adherents, that with so much ease
 I suffer them to enter and possess
 A place so heavenly and conniving seem
 To gratify my scornful enemies, 625
 That laugh, as if transported with some fit
 Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
 At random yielded up to their misrule ;
 And know not that I call'd and drew them thither,
 My Hell-hounds, to dick up the draff and filth 630
 Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
 On what was pure ; till crammin'd and gorg'd, nigh burst
 With suckt and glutted offal, at one sling
 Of thy victorious arm, well-pleasing Son,
 Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at last 635
 Through Chaos hurl'd, obstruct the mouth of Hell
 For ever, and seal up his ravenous jaws.
 Then Heaven and Earth renew'd shall be made pure
 To sanctity that shall receive no stain :
 Till then the curse pronounc't on both precedes.' 640

Chorus of Angels.

He ended, and the heavenly audience loud
 Sung Hallelujah, as the sound of seas,
 Through multitude that sung : 'Just are thy ways,
 Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works ;
 Who can extenuate thee ? 'Next, to the Son, 645

Destin'd Restorer of Mankind, by whom
New Heaven and Earth shall to the ages rise,
Or down from Heaven descend.'

Disturbances are introduced into Nature's works

Such was their song,

While the Creator, calling forth by name
His mighty angels gave them several charge, 650
As sorted best with present things. The Sun
Had first his precept so to move, so shine. ^{more}
As might affect the Earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
Decrepit winter ; from the south to bring 655
Solstitial summer's heat. To the ^{pale}blanc Moon ^{her beams}
Her office they prescrib'd ; to the other five,
Their planetary motions and aspects
In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join 660
In synod unbenign ; and taught the fix'd
Their influence malignant when to shower,
Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
Should prove tempestuous : to the Winds they set
Their corners, when with bluster to confound 665
Sea, air, and shore ; the thunder when to roll
With terror through the dark ærial hall.
Some say he bid his angels turn askance
The poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more
From the Sun's axle ; they with labour push'd 670
Oblique the centric globe : (some say the Sun
Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road
Like distant breadth to Taurus with the seven
Atlantic Sisters, and the Spartan Twins
Up to the tropic Crab } thence down amain 675
By Leo and the Virgin and the Scales,

As deep as Capricorn; to bring in change
 Of seasons to each clime; else had the Spring
 Perpetual smil'd on Earth with vernant flowers,
 Equal in days and nights, except to those 680
 Beyond the polar circles; to them day
 Had unbenighted shone, while the low Sun
 To recompense his distance, in their sight
 Had rounded still the horizon, and not known
 Or east or west; which had forbid the snow 685
 From cold Estotiland, and south as far
 Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit
 The Sun, as from Thyestean banquet, turn'd
 His course intended; else how had the world
 Inhabited, though sinless, more than now, 690
 Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat?
 These changes in the heavens, though slow, produc'd
 Like change on sea and land; sidereal blast,
 Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,
 Corrupt and pestilent: now from the north 695
 Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore
 Bursting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice
 And snow and hail and stormy gust and flaw,
 Boreas and Cæcias and Argestes loud,
 And Thrascias rend the woods, and seas upturn; 700
 With adverse blast upturns them from the south
 Notus, and Afer black with thundrous clouds
 From Serralliona; thwart of these as fierce
 Forth rush the Levant and the Ponent winds
 Eurus and Zephyr; with their lateral noise, 705
 Sirocco and Libeccio. Thus began
 Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord first
 Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
 Death introduc'd, through fierce antipathy:

Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl; 710
 And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving,
 Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe
 Of Man, but fled him, or with countenance grim
 Glar'd on him passing.

Adam is overwhelmed with grief and remorse.

These were from without
 The growing miseries, which Adam saw 715
 Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
 To sorrow abandon'd; but worse felt within,
 And in a troubl'd sea of passion tost,
 Thus to disburden sought with sad complaint.
 'O miserable of happy! is this the end 720
 Of this new glorious World, and me so late
 The glory of that glory, who now become
 Accurst of blessed, hide me from the face
 Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
 Of happiness; yet well, if here would end 725
 The misery; I deserv'd it, and would bear
 My own deservings; but this will not serve;
 All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
 Is propagated curse. O voice once heard
 Delightfully, "Increase and multiply," 730
 Now death to hear! for what can I increase
 Or multiply, but curses on my head?
 Who of all ages to succeed, but feeling
 The evil on him brought by me, will curse
 My head? "I'll fare our ancestor impure, 735
 For this we may thank Adam;" but his thanks
 Shall be the execration; (so besides
 Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
 Shall with a fierce reflux on me rebound,
 On me as on their natural centre light 74

Heavy, though in their place, O fleeting joys
 Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes !
 Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
 To mould me Man ? did I solicit thee
 From darkness to promote me, or here place 745
 In this delicious garden ? as my will
 Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
 And equal to reduce me to my dust,
 Desirous to resign, and render back
 All I receiv'd, unable to perform 750
 Thy terms too hard by which I was to hold
 The good I sought not To the loss of that,
 Sufficient penalty, why hast thou added
 The sense of endless woes ? Inexplicable
 Thy justice seems ; yet to say truth, too late 755
 I thus contest ; then should have been refus'd
 Those terms whatever, when they were propos'd :
 Thou didst accept them ; wilt thou enjoy the good
 Then caviil the conditions ? and though God
 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy son 760
 Prove disobedient, and reprov'd, retort,
 "Wherefore didst thou beget me ? I sought it not !"
 Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
 That proud excuse ? yet him not thy election,
 But natural necessity begot. 765
 God made thee of choice his own, and of his own,
 To serve him thy reward was of his grace,
 Thy punishment then justly is at his will.
 Be it so, for I submit ; his doom is fair,
 That dust I am, and shall to dust return : 770
 O welcome hour whenever ! why delays
 His hand to execute what his decree
 Fix'd on this day ? why do I overlive ?

Why am I mock't with death, and lengthen'd out
 To deathless pain ? how gladly would I meet 775
 Mortality my sentence, and be earth
 Insensible ! how glad would lay me down
 As in my mother's lap ! there I should rest
 And sleep secure : his dreadful voice no more
 Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worse 780
 To me and to my offspring would torment me
 With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die ;
 Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man
 Which God inspir'd. cannot together perish 785
 With this corporeal clod ; then in the grave,
 Or in some other dismal place who knows
 But I shall die a living death ? O thought
 Horrid, if true ! yet why ? it was but breath
 Of life that sinn'd ; what dies but what had life 790
 And sin ? The body properly hath neither.
 All of me then shall die : let this appease
 The doubt, since human reach no further knows.
 For though the Lord of all be infinite
 Is his wrath also ? be it ; Man is not so, 795
 But mortal doom'd How can he exercise
 Wrath without end on Man, whom Death must end ?
 Can he make deathless Death ? that were to make
Strange contradiction, which to God himself
 Impossible is held, as argument 800
 Of weakness, not of power. Will he draw out,
 For anger's sake, finite to infinite
 In punish't Man, to satisfy his rigour
 Satisfied never ? That were to extend
 His sentence beyond dust and Nature's law, 805
 By which all causes else according still

To the reception of their matter act,
 Not to th' extent of their own sphere. But say
 That Death be not one stroke, as I suppos'd
 Bereaving sense, but endless misery ' 810
 From this day onward, which I feel begun
 Both in me, and without me, and so last
 To perpetuity ; Ay me, that fear
 Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution
 On my defenceless head ! both Death and I 815
 Am found eternal, and incorporate both ;
 Nor I on my part single, in me all
 Posterity stands curst. Fair patrimony
 That I must leave ye, sons ! O were I able
 To waste it all myself, and leave ye none ! 820
 So disinherited how would ye bless
 Me now your curse ! Ah, why should all mankind
 For one man's fault thus guiltless be condemn'd,
 If guiltless ? But from me, what can proceed,
 But all corrupt, both mind and will deprav'd 825
 Not to do only but to will the same
 With me ? how can they then acquitted stand
 In sight of God ? Him after all disputes
 Forc't I absolve : all my evasions vain,
 And reasonings, though through mazes lead me still 830
 But to my own conviction : first and last
 On me, me only, as the source and spring
 Of all corruption, all the blame lights due ;
 So might the wrath ! Fond wish ! couldst thou support
 That burden heavier than the Earth to bear, 835
 Than all the World much heavier, though divided
 With that bad Woman ? Thus what thou desir'st
 And what thou fear'st alike destroys all hope
 Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable,

Beyond all past example and future, . 840
To Satan only like both crime and doom.

O Conscience, into what abyss of fears.

And horrors hast thou driven me ; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd !'

Thus Adam to himself lamented loud 845

Through the still night, not now, as ere Man fell,
Wholesome and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
Which to his evil conscience represented

All things with double terror : on the ground 850

Outstretcht he lay, on the cold ground, and oft

Curs'd his creation ; Death as oft accus'd

Of tardy execution, since denounc't

The day of his offence. 'Why comes not Death,'

Said he, 'with one thrice-acceptable stroke 855

To end me ? Shall Truth fail to keep her word ?

Justice divide not hasten to be just ?

But Death comes not at call, Justice divine

Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.

O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales and bowers, 860

With other echo late I taught your shades

To answer, and resound far other song !'

Eve tries to comfort him, but is repulsed.

Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,

Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,

Soft words to his fierce passion she essay'd : 865

But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.

'Out of my sight, thou serpent ! That name best

Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyself as false

And hateful ; nothing wants, but that thy shape,

Like his, and colour serpentine may show 870

Thy inward fraud, to warn all creatures from thee

Henceforth ; lest that too heavenly form, pretended
To hellish falsehood, snare them. But for thee
I had persisted happy, had not thy pride
And wandering vanity, when least was safe, 875
Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
Not to be trusted, longing to be seen
Though by the Devil himself, him overweening
To over-reach, but with the serpent meeting
Fool'd and beguil'd ; by him thou. I by thee, 880
To trust thee from my side, imagin'd wise,
Constant, mature, proof against all assaults,
And understood not all was but a shew
Rather than solid virtue, all but a rib
Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears, 885
More to the part sinister ; from me drawn,
Well if thrown out, as supernusnerary
To my just number found Oh why did God,
Creator wise, that peopl'd highest Heaven
With spirits masculine, create at last 890
This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
Of Nature ; and not fill the world at once
With men as angels without feminine,
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind ? this mischief had not then befallen, 895
And more that shall befall, innumerable
Disturbances on Earth through female snares,
And strait conjunction with this sex : for either
He never shall find out fit mate, but such
As some misfortune brings him, or mistake ; 900
Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
Through her perverseness, but shall see her gain'd
By a far worse ; or if she love, withheld
By parents ; or his happiest choice too late

Shall meet, already linkt and wedlock-bound 905
 To a fell adversary, his hate or shame :
 Which infinite calamity shall cause
 To human life, and household peace confound'.

She persists and at length appeases him.

He added not, and from her turn'd. But Eve,
 Not so repulsed, with tears that cease'd not flowing 910
 And tresses all disorder'd, at his feet
 Fell humble, and embracing them, besought
 His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

'Forsake me not thus, Adam ; witness Heaven
 What love sincere, and reverence in my heart 915
 I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
 Unhappily deceiv'd ; thy suppliant
 I beg, and clasp thy knees ; bereave me not,
 Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress, 920
 My only strength and stay : forlorn of thee,
 Whither shall I betake me, where subsist ?
 While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
 Between us twō let there be peace ; both joining,
 As join'd in injuries, one enmity 925
 Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,
 That cruel Serpent : on me exercise not
 Thy hatred for this misery befallen ;
 On me already lost, me than thyself
 More miserable ; both have sinn'd, but thou 930
 Against God only, I against God and thee ;
 And to the place of judgment will return,
 There with my cries importune Heaven, that all
 The sentence from thy head remov'd may light
 On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe, 935
 Me, me only, just object of his ire.'

She ended weeping, and her lowly plight,
 Immovable till peace obtain'd from fault
 Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought,
 Commiseration ; soon his heart relented 940
 Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,
 Now at his feet submissive in distress,
 Creature so fair his reconciliation seeking.
 His counsel, whom she had displeas'd, his aid ;
 As one disarm'd, his anger all he lost, 945
 And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.

'Unwary, and too desirous, as before
 So now, of what thou knowest not, who desirest
 The punishment all on thyself ; alas,
 Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain 950
 His full wrath whose thou feelest as yet least part,
 And my displeasure bearest so ill. If prayers
 Could alter high decrees, I to that place
 Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
 That on my head all might be visited, 955
 Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiven,
 To me committed and by me expos'd.
 But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
 Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere ; but strive
 In offices of love, how we may lighten 960
 Each other's burden in our share of woe ;
 Since this day's death denounc't, if aught I see,
 Will prove no sudden, but a slow-paced evil,
 A long day's dying to augment our pain,
 And to our seed, (O hapless seed !) deriv'd." 965

Eve suggests violent ways to evade the curse.

To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, replied.
 'Adam, by sad experiment I know
 How little weight my words with thee can find,

Found so erroneous, thence by just event
Found so unfortunate ; nevertheless, 970
Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart
Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
What thoughts in my unquiet breast are ris'n, 975
Tending to some relief of our extremes,
Or end ; though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
As in our evils, and of easier choice.
If care of our descent perplex us most,
Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd 980
By Death at last—and miserable it is
To be to others cause of misery,
Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
Into this cursed world a woeful race,
That after wretched life must be at last 985
Food for so foul a monster—in thy power
It lies, yet ere conception to prevent
The race unablest, to being yet unbegot.
Childless thou art, childless remain : so Death
Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two 990
Be forc'd to satisfy his ravenous maw.
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
From love's due rites, nuptial embraces sweet,
And with desire to languish without hope, 995
Before the present object languishing
With like desire ; which would be misery
And torment less than none of what we dread ;
Then, both ourselves and seed at once to free
For what we fear for both, let us make short, 1000
Let us seek Death, or, he not found, supply

With our own hands his office on ourselves ;
 Why stand we longer shivering under fears
 That show no end but death, and have the power,
 Of many ways to die the shortest choosing, 1005
 Destruction with destruction to destroy ?

Adam disapproves ;

She ended here, or vehement despair
 Broke off the rest ; so much of death her thoughts
 Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.
 But Adam with such counsel nothing sway'd, 1010
 To better hopes his more attentive mind
 Labouring had rais'd ; and thus to Eve replied.

'Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
 To argue in thee something more sublime
 And excellent than what thy mind contemns ; 1015
 But self-destruction therefore sought, refutes
 That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
 Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
 For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd,
 Or if thou covet death, as utmost end 1020
 Of misery, so thinking to evade
 The penalty pronounc't, doubt not but God
 Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire than so
 To be forestall'd ; much more I fear lest death
 So snatched, will not exempt us from the pain 1025
 We are by doom to pay ; rather such acts
 Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
 To make death in us live.

and reminds her of the promise concerning her seed,

Then let us seek
 Some safer resolution, which methinks

I have in view, calling to mind with heed 1030
 Part of our sentence, that thy seed shall bruise
 The Serpent's head ; piteous amends ! unless
 Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe
 Satan, who in the serpent hath contriv'd
 Against us this deceit : to crush his head 1035
 Would be revenge indeed ; which will be lost
 By death brought on ourselves, or childless days
 Resolv'd, as thou proposest ; so our foe
 Shall scape his punishment ordain'd, and we
 Instead shall double ours upon our heads. 1040
 No more be mention'd then of violence
 Against ourselves, and wilful barrenness,
 That cuts us off from hope, and savours only
 Rancour and pride, impatience and despite,
 Reluctance against God and His just yoke 1045
 Laid on our necks.

He now sees the curse in a happier light.

Remember with what mild
 And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd
 Without wrath or reviling ; we expected
 Immediate dissolution, which we thought
 Was meant by Death that day ; when, lo ! to thee 1050
 Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
 And bringing forth, soon recompens't with joy,
 Fruit of thy womb : on me the curse aslope
 Glanc'd on the ground : with labour I must earn
 My bread ; what harm ? Idleness had been worse ; 1055
 My labour will sustain me : and, lest cold
 Or heat should injure us, his timely care
 Hath unbesought provided, and his hands
 Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd.
 How much more, if we pray him, will his ear 1060

Be open, and his heart to pity incline,
 And teach us further by what means to shyn
 The inclement seasons, rain, ice, hail, and snow ;
 Which now the sky with various face begins
 To show us in this mountain, while the winds 1065
 Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
 Of these fair spreading trees ; which bids us seek
 Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
 Our limbs benumb'd, ere this diurnal star
 Leave cold the night ; how we his gather'd beams 1070
 Reflected, may with matter sere foment,
 Or by collision of two bodies grind
 The air attrite to fire ; as late the clouds
 Justling, or pusht with winds rude in their shock
 Tine the slant lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n
 down 1075
 Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine,
 And sends a comfortable heat from far,
 Which might supply the sun : such fire to use,
 And what may else be remedy or cure
 To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought, 1080
 He will instruct us praying, and of grace
 Beseeching him ; so as we need not fear
 To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd
 By him with many comforts, till we end
 In dust, our final rest and native home. 1085

Adam and Eve offer penitential prayers.

What better can we do, than to the place
 Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
 Before him reverent ? and there confess
 Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
 Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air 1090
 Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign

Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.
Undoubtedly he will relent and turn
From his displeasure; in whose look serene,
When angry most he seem'd and most severe, 1095
What else but favour, grace, and mercy shone ?
So spake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confess'd 1100
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

BOOK XI.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents now repenting, and intercedes for them. God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise : sends Michael with a band of cherubim to dispossess them ; but first to reveal to Adam future things. Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs ; he discerns Michael's approach, goes out to meet him ; the angel denounces their departure. Eve's lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits. The angel leads him up to a high hill, sets before him in vision what shall happen till the Flood.

Their penitential prayers are accepted.

Thus they in lowliest plight repentant stood
Praying, for from the mercy-seat above
Prevenient grace descending had remov'd
The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
Regenerate grow instead ; that sighs now breath'd 5
Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heaven with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory : yet their port
Not of mean suitors, nor important less
Seem'd their petition, than when the ancient pair 10
In fables old, less ancient yet than these,
Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha to restore
The race of mankind drown'd, before the shrine
Of Themis stood devout. To Heav'n their prayers
Flew up, nor miss'd the way, by envious winds 15

Blown vagabond or frustrate : in they pass'd
 Dimensionless through Heav'nly doors ; then clad-
 With incense, where the golden altar fum'd,
 By their great Intercessor, came in sight
 Before the Father's throne : them the glad Son 20
 Presenting, thus to intercede began.

'See, Father, what first fruits on Earth are sprung
 From thy implanted grace in Man, these sighs
 And prayers, which in this golden censer, mixed
 With incense, I thy Priest before thee bring ; 25
 Fruits of more pleasing savour from thy seed
 Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
 Which his own hand manuring all the trees
 Of Paradise could have produc't ere fall'n
 From innocence. Now therefore bend thine ear 30
 To supplication, hear his sighs though mute ;
 Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
 Interpret for him, me his Advocate
 And propitiation ; all his works on me
 Good or not good ingraft ; my merit those 35
 Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay.
 Accept me, and in me from these receive
 The smell of peace toward Mankind, let him live
 Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days
 Number'd though sad, till death, his doom (which I 40
 To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse)
 To better life shall yield him, where with me
 All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss,
 Made one with me as I with thee am one.'

. The Father declares his purposes towards Mankind.

• To whom the Father, without cloud, serene. 45
 'All thy request for Man, accepted Son,

Obtain ; all thy request was my decree :
 But longer in that Paradise to dwell,
 The law I gave to Nature him forbids :
 Those pure immortal elements that know 50
 No gross, no inharmonious mixture foul,
 Eject him tainted now, and purge him off
 As a distemper, gross to air as gross,
 And mortal food, as may dispose him best
 For dissolution wrought by Sin, that first 55
 Distemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
 Corrupted. I at first with two fair gifts
 Created him endow'd, with happiness
 And immortality : ~~that~~ fondly lost,
 This ~~other~~ serv'd but to eternize woe, 60
 Till I provided death ; so death becomes
 His final remedy, and after life
 Tried in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
 By faith and faithful works, to second life
 Wak't in the renovation of the just, 65
 Resigns him up with heaven and Earth renew'd.
 But let us call to synod all the Blest
 Through Heavens wide bounds ; from thom I will not-
 hide
 My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed,
 As how with peccant angels late they saw, 70
 And in their state, though firm, stood more confirm'd.

Michael is sent to banish Adam and Eve from Paradise.

He ended ; and the Son gave signal high
 To the bright minister that watch'd : he blew
 His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
 When God descended, and perhaps once more 75
 To sound at general doom. The angelic blast

Fill'd all the regions : from their blissful bowers
 Of amarantine shade, fountain or spring,
 By the waters of life, where'er they sate
 In fellowships of joy, the Sons of Light 80
 Hasted, resorting to the summons high,
 And took their seats ; till from his throne supreme,
 The Almighty thus pronounc'd his sovran will.

'O Sons, like one of us Man is become
 To know both good and evil, since his taste 85
 Of that defended fruit ; but let him boast
 His knowledge of good lost, and evil got ;
 Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known
 Good by itself, and evil not at all.
 He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite, 90
 My motions in him ; longer than they move,
 His heart I know, how variable and vain
 Self-left. Lest therefore his now bolder hand
 Reach also of the tree of Life, and eat,
 And live for ever, dream at least to live 95
 For ever, to remove him I decree,
 And send him from the garden forth to till
 The ground whence he was taken, fitter soil.

'Michael this my behest have thou in charge,
 Take to thee from among the cherubim 100
 Thy choice of flaming warriors, lest the Fiend
 Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
 Vacant possession some new trouble raise :
 Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God
 Without remorse drive out the sinful pair, 105
 From hallow'd ground the unholy ; and denounce
 • To them and to their progeny from thence
 • Perpetual banishment. Yet lest they faint
 At the sad sentence rigorously urg'd—

For I behold them softened and with tears 110
 Bewailing their excess—all terror hide.
 If patiently thy bidding they obey,
 Dismiss them not disconsolate ; reveal
 To Adam what shall come in future days,
 As I shall thee enlighten ; intermix 115
 My covenant in the woman's seed renew'd ;
 So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace :
 And on the east side of the garden place,
 Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
 Cherubic watch, and of a sword the flame 120
 Wide-waving, all approach far off to fright,
 And guard all passage to the Tree of Life :
 Lest Paradise a receptacle prove
 To spirits foul, and all my trees their prey,
 With whose stol'n fruit Man once more to delude.' 125
 He ceas'd : and the archangelic Power prepar'd
 For swift descent, with him the cohort bright
 Of watchful cherubim ; four faces each
 Had, like a double Janus ; all their shape
 Spangl'd with eyes more numerous than those 130
 Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drowse,
 Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the pastorall reed
 Of Hermes, or his opiate rod.

A new morning invites Adam and Eve to
 their accustomed tasks.

Meanwhile,

To re-salute the world with sacred light
 Leucothea wak'd ; and with fresh dews embalm'd 135
 The earth, when Adam and first matron Eve
 Had ended now their orisons, and found
 Strength added from above, new hope to spring

Out of despair, joy, but with fear yet linkt ;
 Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd. 140
 'Eve, easily may faith admit, that all
 The good which we enjoy, from Heav'n descends ;
 But that from us aught should ascend to Heav'n
 So prevalent as to concern the mind
 Of God high-blest, or to incline his will, 145
 Hard to belief may seem ; yet this will prayer,
 Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
 Ev'n to the seat of God. For since I sought
 By prayer the offended Deity to appease,
 Kneel'd and before him humbl'd all my heart, 150
 Methought I saw him placable and mild,
 Bending his ear : persuasion in me grew
 That I was heard with favour ; peace return'd
 Home to my breast, and to my memory
 His promise, that thy Seed shall bruise our Foe ; 155
 Which then not minded in dismay, yet now
 Assures me, that the bitterness of death
 Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee,
 Eve rightly call'd, Mother of all Mankind,
 Mother of all things living : since by thee 160
 Man is to live, and all things live for Man.'

To whom thus Eve, with sad demeanour meek.
 'Ill worthy I such title should belong
 To me transgressor, who for thee ordain'd
 A help, became thy snare ; to me reproach 165
 Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise :
 But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
 That I who first brought Death on all, am grac't
 The source of life ; next favourable thou,
 Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsafest, 170
 Far other name deserving.—But the field

To labour calls us, now with sweat impos'd,
 Though after sleepless night ; for see ! the Morn,
 All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins
 Her rosy progress smiling ; let us forth, 175
 I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
 Where'er our day's work lies, though now enjoin'd
 Laborious, till day droop ; while here we dwell,
 What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks ?
 Here let us live, though in fallen state, content.' 180

Unwonted signs appear in Nature.

So spake, so wish'd much-humbl'd Eve ; but Fate
 Subscrib'd not. Nature first gave signs, imprest
 On bird, beast, air ; air suddenly eclips'd
 After short blush of morn ; nigh in her sight
 The bird of Jove, stoopt from his aery tour, 185
 Two birds of gayest 'plume before him drove ;
 Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,
 First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,
 Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind ;
 Direct to the eastern gate was bent their flight. 190
 Adam observ'd, and with his eye the chase
 Pursuing, not unmov'd to Eve thus spake.

'O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
 Which Heav'n, by these mute signs in Nature shews
 Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn 195
 Us haply too secure of our discharge
 From penalty, because from death releast
 Some days ; how long, and what till then our life,
 Who knows ? or more than this, that we are dust,
 And thither must return, and be no more, 200
 Why else this double object in our sight
 Of flight, pursu'd in the air and o'er the ground

One way the self-same hour ? why in the east
 Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning light
 More orient in yon western cloud that draws 205
 O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
 And slow descends with something heavenly fraught?
 Michael appears to them in glorious, yet human form.

He err'd not ; for by this the Heavenly bands
 Down from a sky of jasper lighted now
 In Paradise, and on a hill made halt ; 210
 A glorious apparition, had not doubt
 And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
 Not that more glorious, when the angels met
 Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
 The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright ; 215
 Nor that which on the flaming mount appear'd
 In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,
 Against the Syrian king, who to surprise
 One man, assassin-like had levied war,
 War unproclaim'd. The princely Hierarch 220
 In their bright stand there left his powers, to seize
 Possession of the garden ; he alone,
 To find where Adam shelter'd, took his way ;
 Not unperceiv'd of Adam, who to Eve,
 While the great visitant approach'd, thus spake. 225
 'Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
 Of us will soon determine, or impose
 New laws to be observ'd ; for I descry
 From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
 One of the Heavenly host, and by his gait 230
 None of the meanest, some great Potentate
 Or of the Thrones above, such majesty
 Invests him coming ; yet not terrible,

That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
 As Raphael, that I should much confide ; 235
 But solemn and sublime ; whom not to offend,
 With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.'

He ended ; and the archangel soon drew nigh,
 Not in his shape celestial, but as Man
 Clad to meet Man ; over his lucid arms 240
 A military vest of purple flow'd
 Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
 Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
 In time of truce ; Iris had dipt the woof ;
 His starry helm unbuckl'd shew'd him prime 245
 In manhood where youth ended ; by his side
 As in a glistening zodiac hung the sword,
 Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the spear.
 Adam bow'd low ; he kingly from his state
 Inclin'd not ; but his coming thus declar'd. 250

The sentence of banishment and how it was received.

'Adam, Heavens high behest no preface needs :
 Sufficient that thy prayers are heard, and Death,
 Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,
 Defeated of his seizure many days 255
 Given thee of grace, wherein thou may'st repent,
 And one bad act with many deeds well done
 Mayst cover : well may then thy Lord appeas'd,
 Redeem thee quite from Death's rapacious claim ;
 But longer in this Paradise to dwell
 Permits not ; to remove thee I am come, 260
 And send thee from the garden forth to till
 The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.'

He added not, for Adam at the news
 Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood.

That all his senses bound ; Eve, who unseen 265
 Yet all had heard, with audible lament
 Discover'd soon the place of her retire.
 'O unexpected stroke, worse than of Death !
 Must I thus leave thee, Paradise ? thus leave
 Thee, native soil ! these happy walks and shades, 270
 Fit haunt of gods ? where I had hope to spend,
 Quiet though sad, the respite of that day
 That must be mortal to us both. O flowers,
 That never will in other climate grow,
 My early visitation, and my last * 275
 At even, which I bred up with tender hand,
 From the first opening bud, and gave ye names !
 Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
 Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount ?
 Thee lastly, nuptial bower, by me adorn'd 280
 With what to sight or smell was sweet ; from thee
 How shall I part ? and whither wander down
 Into a lower world, to this obscure
 And wild ? How shall we breathe in other air
 Less pure, accusom'd to immortal fruits ? 285

Whom thus the angel interrupted mind :
 'Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign
 What justly thou hast lost : nor set thy heart,
 Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine ;
 Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes 290
 Thy husband ; him to follow thou art bound ;
 Where he abides, think there thy native soil.'

. Adam by this from the cold sudden damp
 Recovering, and his scatter'd spirits return'd,
 To Michael thus his humble words address'd. 295

The loss of Paradise will not involve the loss
of fellowship with God.

'Celestial ! whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
Of them the highest, for of such shape may seem
Prince above princes, gently hast thou told
Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
And in performing end us. What besides 300
Of sorrow and dejection and despair
Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring ;
Departure from this happy place, our sweet
Recess, and only consolation left
Familiar to our eyes ; all places else 305
Inhospitable appear and desolate,
Nor knowing us nor known : and if by prayer
Incessant I could hope to change the will
Of Him who all things can, I would not cease
To weary him with my assiduous cries. 310
But prayer against his absolute decree
No more avails than breath against the wind,
Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth :
Therefore to his great bidding I submit.
This most afflicts me, that departing hence, 315
As from his face I shall be hid, depriv'd
His blessed count'nance ; here I could frequent
With worship place by place where he voutsaf't
Presence divine, and to my sons relate ;
"On this mount he appear'd, under this tree 320
Stood visible, among these pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd :"
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory, 325
Or monument to ages, and thereon

Offer sweet-smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers :
 In yonder nether world where shall I seek
 His bright appearances, of footstep trace ?
 For, though I fled him angry, yet recall'd 330
 To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
 Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
 Of glory, and far off his steps adore.'

To whom thus Michael with regard benign :
 'Adam, thou knowest Heaven his, and all the Earth ; 335
 Not this rock only ; his omnipresence fills
 Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
 Fomented by his virtual power and warm'd :
 All the Earth he gave thee to possess and rule,
 No despicable gift, surmise not then 340
 His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
 Of Paradise or Eden : this had been
 Perhaps thy capital seat, from whence had spread
 All generations, and had hither come
 From all the ends of the Earth, to celebrate 345
 And reverence thee their great progenitor.
 But this pre-eminence thou hast lost, brought down
 To dwell on even ground now with thy sons :
 Yet doubt not, but in valley and in plain
 God is, as here, and will be found alike 350
 Present ; and of his presence many a sign,
 Still following thee, still compassing thee round
 With goodness and paternal love, his face
 Express, and of his steps the track divine.

Michael prepares Adam to behold future things.

Which that thou mayst believe, and be confirm'd 355
 Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent
 To show thee what shall come in future days,
 To thee and to thy offspring ; good with bad

Expect to hear, supernal grace contending
 With sinfulness of men ; thereby to learn 360
 True patience, and to temper joy with fear
 And pious sorrow ; equally inur'd
 By moderation either state to bear,
 Prosperous or adverse : so shalt thou lead
 Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure 365
 Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend
 This hill ; let Eve (for I have drencht her eyes)
 Here sleep below while thou to foresight wakest ;
 As once thou sleptest, while she to life was form'd.'

To whom thus Adam gratefully repli'd. 370
 'Ascend, I follow thee, safe guide, the path
 Thou ledest me, and to the hand of Heaven submit,
 However chastening, to the evil turn
 My obvious breast, arming to overcome
 By suffering, and earn rest from labour won, 375
 If so I may attain.'—So both ascend
 In the visions of God : it was a hill,
 Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
 The hemisphere of Earth in clearest ken
 Stretcht out to the amplest reach of prospect lay. 380
 Not higher that hill, nor wider looking round,
 Whereon for different cause the Tempter set
 Our second Adam in the wilderness,
 To show him all earth's kingdoms and their glory.

The future kingdoms both of the old and the new
 , worlds are spread out before him.

His eye might there command wherever stood 385
 City of old or modern fame, the seat
 Of mightiest empire, from the destin'd walls
 Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
 And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,

To Paquin of Sinæan kings: and thence 390
 To Agræ and Lahor of great Mogul
 Down to the golden Chersonese; or where
 The Persian in Ecbatan sat, or since
 In Hispahan, or where the Russian Ksar
 In Mosco; or the Sultan in Bizance, 395
 Turchestan-born; nor could his eye not ken
 The empire of Negus, to his utmost port
 Ercoco, and the less maritime kings,
 Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
 And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm 400
 Of Congo, and Angola farthest south;
 Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount
 The kingdoms of Almansor, Fez, and Sus,
 Morocco and Algiers, and Tremisen;
 Or Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway 405
 The world: In spirit perhaps he also saw
 Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
 And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
 Of Atabalipa; and yet unspoil'd
 Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons 410
 Call El Dorado: but to nobler sights
 Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd;
 Which that false fruit that promis'd clearer sight
 Had bred; then purg'd with euphrasy and rue
 The visual nerve, for he had much to see; 415
 And from the well of Life three drops instill'd.
 So deep the power of these ingredients pierc'd,
 E'en to the inmost seat of mental sight,
 That Adam now enforc't to close his eyes,
 Sunk down, and all his spirits became entranc't: 420
 But him the gentle angel by the hand
 Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.

The first vision—the murder of Abel.

‘Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
The effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In some to spring from thee, who never touch’d 425
The excepted tree, nor with the snake conspir’d,
Nor sinn’d thy sin ; yet from that sin derive
Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.’

His eyes he open’d, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves 430
New-reapt ; the other part sheepwalks and folds ;
In the midst an alter as the landmark stood
Rustic, of grassy sord ; thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought
First-fruits, the green ear, and the yellow sheaf, 435
Uncull’d, as came to hand ; a shepherd next
More meek, came with the firstlings of his flock,
Choicest and best ; then sacrificing, laid
The inwards and their fat, with incense strew’d,
On the cleft wood, and all due rites perform’d. 440
His offering soon propitious fire from Heaven
Consum’d with nimble glance, and grateful steam :
The other’s not, for his was not sincere ;
Whereat he inly rag’d, and as they talk’d,
Smote him into the midriff with a stone 445
That beat out life ; he fell, and deadly pale
Groan’d out his soul with gushing blood effus’d.
Much at that sight was Adam in his heart
Dismay’d, and thus in haste to the angel cried.

‘O Teacher, some great mischief hath befallen 450
To that meek man, who well had sacrific’d ;
Is piety thus and pure devotion paid ?

To whom Mischaël thus, he also mov’d, repli’d.
‘These two are brethren, Adam, and to come

Out of thy loins ; the unjust the just hath slain, 455
 For envy that his brother's offering found
 From Heaven acceptance ; but the bloody fact
 Will be aveng'd, and the other's faith approv'd
 Lose no reward, though here thou see him die,
 Rolling in dust and gore.'—To which our sire. 460
 ' Alas ! both for the deed and for the cause !
 But have I now seen Death ? Is this the way
 I must return to native dust ? O sight
 Of terror, foul and ugly to behold,
 Horrid to think, how horrible to feel !' 465

The second vision—a lazar-house.

To whom thus Michael ; ' Death thou hast seen
 In his first shape on man ; but many shapes
 Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
 To his grim cave, all dismal : yet to sense
 More terrible at the entrance than within. 470
 Some, as thou sawest, by violent stroke shall die,
 By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
 In meats and drinks, which on the earth shall bring
 Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
 Before thee shall appear, that thou mayst know 475
 What misery the inabstinence of Eve
 Shall bring on men.' Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark,
 A lazar-house it seem'd, wherein were laid *hospitals*
 Numbers of all diseas'd ; all maladies 480
 Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
 Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
 ' Intestine stone and ulcer, colic pangs,
 Demoniac frenzy, moping melancholy, 485
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,

Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
 Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
 Dire was the tossing, deep the groans ; Despair ,
 Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch ; 490
 And over them triumphant Death his dart
 Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invoked
 With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
 Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
 Dry-eyed behold ? Adam could not, but wept, 495
 Though not of woman born ; compassion quell'd
 His best of man, and gave him up to tears.
 A space, till firmer thoughts restrain'd excess,
 And scarce recovering words his plaint renew'd.
 'O miserable mankind, to what fall 500
 Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd ?
 Better end here unborn. Why is life given
 To be thus wrested from us ? rather why
 Obtruded on us thus ? who if we knew
 What we receive, would either not accept 505
 Life offer'd, or soon beg to lay it down,
 Glad to be so dismissed in peace. Can thus
 The image of God in Man, created once, ,
 So goodly and erect, though faulty since,
 To such unsightly sufferings be debas't 510
 Under inhuman pains ? why should not Man,
 Retaining still divine similitude
 In part, from such deformities be free,
 And for his Maker's image sake exempt ?
 ' Their Maker's image,' answer'd Michael, ' then 515
 Forsook them, when themselves they vilif'd
 To serve ungovern'd appetite, and took
 His image whom they served, a brutish vice,
 Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.

Therefore so abject is their punishment, 520
 Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own ;
 Or if his likeness, by themselves defac't,
 While they pervert pure Nature's healthful rules
 To loathsome sickness, worthily, since they
 God's image did not reverence in themselves.' 525

'I yield it just,' said Adam, 'and submit.
 But is there yet no other way, besides
 These painful passages, how we may come
 To death, and mix with our connatural dust ?

'There is,' said Michael, 'if thou well observe 530
 The rule of *not too much*, by temperance taught,
 In what thou eat'st and drink'st seeking from thence
 Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
 Till many years over thy head return :
 So may'st thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop 535
 Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
 Gather'd, not harshly pluckt, for death mature :
 This is old age ; but then thou must outlive
 Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
 To wither'd weak, and gray : thy senses then 540
 Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forego
 To what thou hast ; and for the air of youth
 Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
 A melancholy damp of cold and dry
 To weigh thy sprits down ; and last consume 545
 The balm of life.' To whom our ancestor :

'Henceforth I fly not Death, nor would prolong
 Life much, bent rather how I may be quit
 Fairest and easiest of this cumbrous charge ;
 Which I must keep till my appointed day 550
 Of rendering up, and patiently attend
 My dissolution.' Michaël repli'd.

‘Nor love thy life, nor hate ; but what thou liv’st
Live well ; how long or short permit to heaven :
And now prepare thee for another sight.’ 555

The third vision delights Adam.

He look’d, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue : by some were herds
Of cattle grazing ; others whence the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ ; and who mov’d 560
Their stops and chords was seen ; his volant touch
Instinct, through all proportions low and high,
Fled, and pursu’d transverse the resonant fugue.
In other part stood one, who, at the forge
Labouring, two massy clods of iron and brass 565
Had melted, (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods, on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth, thence gliding hot
To some cave’s mouth ; or whether washt by stream
From underground ;) the liquid ore he drain’d 570
Into fit moulds prepar’d ; from which he form’d
First his own tools ; then, what might else be wrought
Fusil or graven in metal. After these,
But on the hither side, a different sort
From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
Down to the plain descended : by their guise
Just men they seem’d, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid ; nor those things last, which might preserve
Freedom and peace to men : they on the plain 580
Long had not walkt, when from the tents behold
A bevy of fair women, richly gay
In gems and wanton dress ; to the harp they sung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on :

The men though grave, eyed them, and let their eyes
 Rove without rein; till, in the amorous net 585
 Fast caught, they liked, and each his liking chose;
 And now of love they treat, till the ev'ning star,
 Love's harbinger, appear'd; then all in heat
 They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke 590
 Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok't:
 With feast and music all the tent resound.
 Such happy interview and fair event
 Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers,
 And charming symphonies, attach'd the heart 595
 Of Adam, soon inclin'd to admit delight,
 The bent of nature; which he thus express'd:
 'True opener of mind eyes, prime angel blest,
 Much better seems this vision, and more hope
 Of peaceful days portends, than those two past; 600
 Those were of hate, and death, or pain much worse,
 Here Nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends.'

But the angel informs him he has been beholding
 the tents of wickedness.

To whom thus Michael. 'Judge not what is best
 By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet, 605
 Created, as thou art, to nobler end,
 Holy and pure, conformity divine.
 Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant, were the tents
 Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
 Who slew his brother: studious they appear
 Of arts that polish life, inventors rare, 610
 Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
 Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
 Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget;
 For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seem'd
 Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay, 615

From a fat meadow ground ; or fleecy flock,
 Ewes and their bleating lambs, over the plain,
 Their booty ; scarce with life the shepherds fly, 650
 But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray ;
 With cruel tournament the squadrons join ;
 Where cattle pastur'd late, now scatter'd lies
 With carcases and arms the ensanguin'd field,
 Deserted. Others to a city strong 655
 Lay siege, encamp't ; by battery, scale, and mine,
 Assaulting ; others from the wall defend
 With dart and javelin, stones and sulphurous fire ;
 On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.
 In other part the scepter'd heralds call 660
 To council, in the city gates : anon
 Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mixt,
 Assemble, and harangues are heard ; but soon
 In factious opposition ; till at last
 Of middle age one rising, eminent 665
 In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,
 Of justice, of religion, truth and peace,
 And judgment from above : him old and young
 Explored, and had seiz'd with violent hands,
 Had not a cloud descending snatch'd him thence 670
 Unseen amid the throng : so violence
 Proceeded, and oppression, and sword-law,
 Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.
 Adam was all in tears, and, to his guide
 Lamenting, turn'd full sad : 'O what are these, 675
 Death's ministers, not Men, who thus deal Death
 Inhumanly to men, and multiply
 Ten thousand-fold the sin of him who slew
 His brother ; for of whom such massacre
 Make they but of their brethren, men of men ? 680

But who was that just man, whom had not Heaven
Rescu'd, had in his righteousness been lost ?

To whom thus Michael :—‘These are the product
Of those ill-mated marriages thou saw’st ;
Where good with bad were matcht, who of themselves
Abhor to join ; and by imprudence mixt, 686
Produce prodigious births of body or mind,
Such were these Giants, men of high renown ;
For in those days might only shall be admir’d,
And valour and heroic virtue call’d ; 690
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils, with infinite
Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and, for glory done
Of triumph, to be styl’d great conquerors, 695
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods ;
Destroyers rightlier call’d, and plagues of men.
Thus fame shall be achiev’d, renown on Earth ;
And what most merits fame in silence hid
But he, the seventh from thee, whom thou beheld’st 700
The only righteous in a world perverse,
And therefore hated, therefore so beset ,
With foes, for daring single to be just, ‘
And utter odious truth, that God would come
To judge them with his saints: him the Most High 705
Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds
Did, as thou sawest, receive, to walk with God,
High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
Exempt from death ; to show thee what reward
Awaits the good, the rest what punishment ; 710
Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.’

The fifth vision is a deluge of waters. The ark
saves one family.

He look’d, and saw the face of things quite chang’d.

The brazen throat of war had ceast to roar ;
 All now was turn'd to jollity and game,
 To luxury and riot, feast and dance, 715
 Marrying or prostituting, as befel,
 Rape or adultery, where passing fair
 Allur'd them ; thence from cups to civil broils.
 At length a reverend sire among them came,
 And of their doings great dislike declar'd, 720
 And testifi'd against their ways ; he oft
 Frequented their assemblies, whereso met,
 Triumphs or festivals, and to them preach'd
 Conversion and repentance, as to souls
 In prison, under judgments imminent : 725
 But all in vain : which when he saw, he ceas'd
 Contending, and remov'd his tents far off.
 Then from the mountain hewing timber tall,
 Began to build a vessel of huge bulk.
 Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth, 730
 Smear'd round with pitch, and in the side a door
 Contriv'd : and of provisions laid in large
 For man and beast : when lo, a wonder strange !
 Of every beast and bird, and insect small,
 Came sevens, and pairs, and enter'd in as taught 735
 Their order ; last the sire and his three sons,
 With their four wives ; and God made fast the door.
 Meanwhile the south-wind rose, and with black wings
 Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove
 From under Heaven ; the hills, to their supply, 740
 Vapour, and exhalation dusk and moist
 Sent up amain ; and now the thickened sky
 Like a dark ceiling stood ; down rush'd the rain
 Impetuous, and continu'd till the earth
 No more was seen ; the floating vessel swum 754

Uplifted ; and secure with beaked prow
 Rode tilting o'er the waves ; all dwellings else
 Flood overwhelm'd, and them, with all their pomp,
 Deep under water roll'd ; sea cover'd sea,
 Sea without shore ; and in their palaces, 750
 Where luxury late reign'd, sea monsters whelp'd
 And stabled ; of Mankind, so numerous late,
 All left, in one small bottom swum embark't.
 How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
 The end of all thy offspring, end so sad, 755
 Depopulation ; thee another flood,
 Of tears and sorrow a flood, thee also drown'd.
 And sunk thee as thy sons ; till gently rear'd
 By the angel, on thy feet thou stoodst at last,
 Though comfortless ; as when a father mourns 760
 His children, all in view destroy'd at once ;
 And scarce to the angel utteredst thus thy plaint.

'O visions ill foreseen ! better had I
 Lived ignorant of future, so had born
 My part of evil only, each day's lot 765
 Enough to bear ; those now, that were dispens't
 The burden of many ages, on me light
 At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
 Abortive, to torment me ere their being,
 With thought that they must be. Let no man seek 770
 Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
 Him or his children ; evil he may be sure,
 Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
 And he the future evils shall no less
 In apprehension than in substance feel 775
 Grievous to bear : but that care now is past,
 Man is not whom to warn : those few escap't
 Famine and anguish will at last consume,

Wandering that watery desert. I had hope,
 When violence was ceas't, and war on Earth, 780
 All would have then gone well, peace would have crown'd
 With length of happy days the race of man.
 But I was far deceiv'd ; for now I see
 Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste.
 How comes it thus ? unfold, celestial guide ; 785
 • And whether here the race of man will end.'
 To whom thus Michael. 'Those whom last thou saw'st
 In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
 First seen in acts of prowess eminent
 And great exploits, but of true virtue void ; 790
 Who having spilt much blood, and done much waste,
 Subduing nations, and achiev'd thereby
 Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
 Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
 Surfeit, and lust ; (till wantonness and pride 795
 Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace.
 The conquered also, and enslav'd by war
 Shall with their freedom lost, all virtue lose.)
 And fear of God, from whom their piety feign'd
 In sharp contest of battle found no aid 800
 Against invaders ; therefore cool'd in zeal
 Thenceforth shall practise how to live secure,
 Wordly or dissolute, on what their lords
 Shall leave them to enjoy ; for the Earth shall bear
 More than enough, that temperance may be tried. 805
 So all shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd,
 Justice and temperance, truth and faith forgot ;
 One man except, the only son of light
 In a dark age, against example good,
 Against allurement, custom, and a world 810
 Offended ; fearless of reproach and scorn,

Or violence, he of their wicked ways
 Shall then admonish, and before them set
 The paths of righteousness, how much more safe
 And full of peace ; denouncing wrath to come 815
 On their impenitence ; and shall return
 Of them derided, but of God observ'd
 The one just man alive ; by his command
 Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheldest,
 To save himself and household, from amidst 820
 A world devote to universal wrack.
 No sooner he, with them of man and beast
 Select for life, shall in the ark be lodg'd,
 And shelter'd round, but all the cataracts
 Of heaven set open on the earth shall pour 825
 Rain day and night ; all fountains of the deep
 Broke up, shall heave the ocean to usurp
 Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise
 Above the highest hills : then shall this mount
 Of Paradise by might of waves be mov'd 830
 Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
 With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees adrift,
 Down the great river to the opening gulf,
 And there take root an island salt and bare,
 The haunt of seals and orcs, and seamews' clang ; 835
 To teach thee that God attributes to place
 No sanctity, if none be thither brought
 By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
 And now what further shall ensure, behold.'

The waters again subside.

He look'd, and saw the ark hull on the flood, 840
 Which now abated ; for the clouds were fled,
 Driven by a keen north-wind, that blowing dry
 Wrinkl'd the face of Deluge, as decay'd ;

And the clear sun on his wide watery glass
Gaz'd hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew, 845
As after thirst ; which made their flowing shrink
From standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole
With soft foot toward the deep, who now had stopt
His sluices, as the heaven his windows shut.
The ark no more now floats, but seems on ground 850
Fast on the top of some high mountain fixt.
And now the tops of hills as rocks appear ;
With clamour thence the rapid currents drive
Towards the retreating sea their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies ; 855
And after him, the surer messenger,
A dove sent forth once and again to spy
Green tree or ground, whereon his foot may light ;
The second time returning, in his bill
An olive-leaf he brings, pacific sign. 860
Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
The ancient sire descends, with all his train.

The message of the rainbow.

Then, with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to Heav'n, over his head beholds
A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow, 865
Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,
Betokening peace from God, and covenant new.
Whereat the heart of Adam erst so sad
Greatly rejoic'd ; and thus his joy broke forth :
 'O thou, who future things canst represent 870
As present, heavenly Instructor, I revive
At this last sight, assur'd that Man shall live
With all the creatures, and their seed preserve.
Far less I now lament for one whole world
Of wicked sons destroy'd, than I rejoice 875

For one man found so perfect and so just,
 That God vouchsafes to raise another world
 From him, and all his anger to forget.
 But say, what mean those colour'd streaks in heav'n,
 Distended as the brow of God appeas'd ? 880
 On serve they as a flowery verge to bind
 The fluid skirts of that same watery cloud,
 Lest it again dissolve and shower the earth ?

To whom the archangel. 'Dexterously thou aim'st ;
 So willingly doth God remit his ire ; 885
 Though late repenting him of Man depriv'd,
 Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
 The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
 Corrupting each their way ; yet those remov'd,
 Such grace shall one just man find in his sight, 890
 That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
 And makes a covenant never to destroy
 The earth again by flood, nor let the sea
 Surpass his bounds, nor rain to drown the world
 With man therein or beast ; but, when he brings 895
 Over the earth a cloud, will therein set
 His triple colour'd bow. And bidden to look,
 And call to mind his covenant : day and night,
 Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost
 Shall hold their course, till fire purge all things new,
 Both heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell.'

BOOK XII

THE ARGUMENT.

The angel Michael continues from the flood to relate what shall succeed ; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the Fall. His incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension ; the state of the church till his second coming. Adam, greatly satisfied and re-comforted by these relations and promises, descends the hill with Michael : wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the cherubim taking their stations to guard the place.

As one who in his journey halts at noon, *Virg.*
Though bent on speed, so here the archangel paus'd,
Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose ;
Then with transition sweet new speech resumes : 5

Michael continuing tells of the times of Nimrod :

'Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end ;
And Man as from a second stock proceed.
Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive
Thy mortal sight to fail ; objects divine
Must needs impair and weary human sense : 10
Henceforth what is to come I will relate ;
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
This second source of men, while yet but few,

And while the dread of judgment past remains
 Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity, ' 15
 With some regard to what is just and right
 Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
 Labouring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
 Corn, wine and oil; and from the herd or flock,
 Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid, 20
 With large wine-offerings pour'd, and sacred feast,
 Shall spend their days in joy unblam'd, and dwell
 Long time in peace by families and tribes
 Under paternal rule; till one shall rise
 Of proud ambitious heart, who not content 25
 With fair equality, fraternal state,
 Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
 Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
 Concord and law of Nature from the earth;
 Hunting (and men, not beasts, shall be his game) 30
 With war and hostile snare such as refuse
 Subjection to his empire tyrannous:
 A mighty hunter thence he shall be styl'd
 Before the Lord, as in despite of Heaven,
 Or from Heaven claiming second sovereignty; 35
 And from rebellion shall derive his name,
 Though of rebellion others he accuse.
 He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
 With him or under him to tyrannize,
 Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find 40
 The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
 Boils out from underground, the mouth of Hell;

The building of the Tower of Babel.

Of brick, and of that stuff they cast to build
 A city and tower, whose top may reach to Heaven;
 And get themselves a name, lest far disperst 45

In foreign lands their memory be lost ;
 Regardless whether good or evil fame.
 But God who oft descends to visit men
 Unseen, and through their habitations walks
 To mark their doings, them beholding soon, 50
 Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
 Obstruct Heaven towers ; and in derision sets
 Upon their tongues a various spirit, to rase
 Quite out their native language, and instead
 To sow a jangling noise of words unknown. 55
 Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud
 Among the builders ; each to other calls
 Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,
 As mockt they storm : great laughter was in Heav'n
 And looking down, to see the hubbub strange 60
 And hear the din ; thus was the building left
 Ridiculous, and the work *Confusion* nam'd.

Reflections upon Tyranny.

Whereto thus Adam, fatherly displeas'd
 'O execrable son ! so to aspire
 Above his brethren, to himself assuming 65
 Authority usurpt, from God not given !
 He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl
 Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
 By his donation ; but Man over men
 He made not lord ; such title to himself 70
 Reserving, human left from human free.
 But this usurper his encroachment proud
 Stays not on Man ; to God his tower intends
 Siege and defiance. Wretched man ! what food
 Will he convey up thither to sustain 75
 Himself and his rash army ? where thin air
 Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,

And famish him of breath, if not of bread.'

To whom thus Michael: 'Justly thou abhorr'st
That son, who on the quiet state of men 80
Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
Rational liberty; yet know withal,
Since thy original lapse, true Liberty
Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells
Twinn'd, and (from her hath no dividual being 85
Reason in Man obscur'd,) or not obey'd,
Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart passions catch the government
From Reason, and to servitude reduce
Man, till then free. Therefore, since he permits 90
Within himself unworthy powers to reign
Over free reason, God in judgment just
Subjects him from without to violent lords;
Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
His outward freedom. (Tyranny must be, 95
Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.)
Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
But justice, and some fatal curse annex'd,
Deprives them of their outward liberty, 100
Their inward lost:) witness the irreverent son
Of him who built the ark, who, for the shame
Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
"Servant of servants," on his vicious race.

Abraham's journey from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan.

Thus will this latter, as the former world, 105
Still tend from bad to worse, till God at last,
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them, and avert

His holy eyes ; resolving from thencefoth
 To leave them to their own polluted ways ; 110
 And one peculiar nation to select
 From all the rest, of whom to be invoc'd
 A nation from one faithful man to spring :
 Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,
 Bred up in idol-worship. O that men 115
 (Canst thou believe ?) should be so stupid grown,
 While yet the patriarch liv'd who scap'd the Flood,
 As to forsake the living God, and fall
 To worship their own work in wood and stone
 For gods ! Yet him God the Most High vouchsafes 120
 To call by vision from his father's house,
 His kindred and false gods, into a land
 Which he will shew him ; and from him will raise
 A mighty nation, and upon him shower
 His benediction so, that in his seed 125
 All nations shall be blest. He straight obeys,
 Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes :
 I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
 He leaves his gods, his friends, and native soil,
 Ur of Chaldea, passing ~~now~~ the ford 130
 To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
 Of herds and flocks, and numerous servitude ;
 Not wandering poor, but trusting all his wealth
 With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.
 Canaan he now attains ; I see his tents *Luc. 13. 33* 135
 Pitch about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
 Of Moreh ; there by promise he receives
 Gift to his progeny of all that land ;
 From Hamath northward to the desert south,
 (Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd) 140
 From Hermon east to the great western sea ;

Mount Hermon, yonder sea, each place behold
 In prospect, as I point them ; on the shore
 Mount Carmel ; here the double-founted stream
 Jordan, true limit eastward ; but his sons 145
 Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.
 This ponder, that all nations of the Earth
 Shall in his seed be blessed ; by that Seed
 Is meant thy great Deliverer, who shall bruise
 The Serpent's head ; whereof to thee anon 150
 Plainlier shall be reveal'd.

Abraham's descendants become bondmen to
 the Egyptians,

This patriarch blest,
 Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,
 A son, and of his son a grandchild, leaves,
 Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown :
 The grandchild, with twelve sons increast, departs 155
 From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd
 Egypt, divided by the river Nile.
 See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths
 Into the sea : to sojourn in that land
 He comes invited by a younger son 160
 In time of dearth, a son whose worthy deeds
 Raise him to be the second in that realm
 Of Pharaoh ; there he dies, and leaves his race
 Growing into a nation ; and now grown
 Suspected to a sequent king, who seeks 165
 To stop their overgrowth, as inmate guests
 Too numerous ; whence of guests he makes them slaves,
 Inhospitably, and kills their infant males :
 but are delivered by the hand of Moses.
 Till by two brethren (those two brethren call
 Moses and Aaron) sent from God to claim 170

His people from enthralment, they return
With glory and spoil back to their promis'd land.
But first the lawless tyrant, who denies
To know their God, or message to regard,
Must be compell'd by signs and judgments dire ; 175
(To blood unshed the rivers must be turn'd ;
Frogs, lice, and flies must all his palace fill
With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land ;
His cattie must of rot and murrain die ;
Botches and blains must all his flesh emboss, 180
And all his people ; thunder mixt with hail,
Hail mixt with fire, must rend the Egyptian sky,
And wheel on the earth, devouring where it rolls ;
What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
A darksome cloud of locusts swarming down 185
Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green :
Darkness must overshadow all his bounds,
Palpable darkness, and blot out three days ;
Last with one midnight-stroke all the first-born
Of Egypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds 190
The river-dragon tam'd at length submits
(To let his sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still, as ice
More hardend after thaw) ; till, in his rage
Pursuing whom he late dismiss'd, the sea 195
Swallows him with his host ; but them lets pass
As on dry land between two crystal walls,
Awed by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided, till his rescued gain their shore :
Such wondrous power God to his saint will lend, 200
Though present in his Angel, who shall go
Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire,
(By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire,)

To guide them in their journey, and remove
 Behind them, while the obdurate king pursues : 205
 All night he will pursue, but his approach
 Darkness defends between till morning-watch ;
 Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
 God looking forth will trouble all his host,
 And craze their chariot-wheels ; when by command
 Moses once more his potent rod extends 21
 Over the sea ; the sea his rod obeys ;
 On their embattl'd ranks the waves return,
 And overwhelm their war.

The Israelites receive laws in the wilderness.

The race elect,

Safe towards Canaan from the shore advance 215
 Through the wild desert, not the readiest way,
 Lest, entering on the Canaanite alarm'd,
 War terrify them inexpert, and fear
 return them back to Egypt, choosing rather
 Inglorious life with servitude ; for life 220
 To noble and ignoble is more sweet
 Untrain'd in arms, where rashness leads not on.
 This also shall they gain by their delay
 In the wide wilderness, there they shall find
 Their government, and their great senate choose 225
 Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd :
 God, from the mount of Sinai, whose gray top
 Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
 In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets' sound
 Ordain them laws ; part such as appertain 230
 To civil justice ; part religious rites
 Of sacrifice, informing them, by types
And shadows, of that destin'd Seed to bruise

The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
 Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God 235
 To mortal ear is dreadful ; they beseech
 That Moses might report to them his will,
 And terror cease : he grants what they besought,
 Instructed that to God is no access
 Without Mediator ; whose high office now 240
 Moses in figure bears, to introduce
 One greater, of whose day he shall foretell,
 And all the prophets in their age the times
 Of great Messiah shall sing. Thus laws and rites
 Establisht, such delight hath God in men 245
 Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes
 Among them to set up his tabernacle,
 The Holy One with mortal men to dwell :
 By his prescript a Sanctuary is fram'd
 Of cedar, overlaid with gold ; therein 250
 An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
 The records of his covenant ; over these
 A mercy-seat of gold between the wings
 Of two bright cherubim ; before him burn
 Seven lamps, as in a zodiac, representing 255
 The heavenly fires. Over the tent a cloud
 Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night,
 Save when they journey.

At length they return to the land of promise.

And at length they come,
 Conducted by his angel to the land
 Promis'd to Abarham and his seed. The rest 260
 Were long to tell, how many battles fought,
 How many kings destroy'd, and kingdoms won,
 Or how the sun shall in mid-heav'n stand still
 A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,

Man's voice commanding, "Sun, in Gibeon stand, 265
 And thou Moon, in the vale of Ajalon,
 Till Israel overcome" : so call the third
 From Abraham, son of Isaac, and from him
 His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win.'

Here Adam interpos'd :—'O sent from Heave'n, 270
 Enlightener of my darkness, gracious things
 Thou not hast reveal'd ; those chiefly which concern
 Just Abraham and his seed : now first I find
 Mine eyes true opening, and my heart much eas'd
 Ere while perplext with thoughts what would become 275
 Of me and all Mankind : but now I see
 His day, in whom all nations shall be blest ;
 Favour unmerited by me, who sought
 Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
 This yet I apprehend not, why to those 280
 Among whom God will deign to dwell on Earth
 So many and so various laws are given ;
 So many laws argue so many sins
 Among them ; how can God with such reside ?'

Adam now hears of a better Covenant
 than that of Moses.

To whom thus Michael : 'Doubt not but that sin
 Will reign among them, as of thee begot ; 286
 And therefore was law given them to evince
 Their natural pravity, by stirring up
 Sin against law to fight ; that, when they see
 Law can discover sin, but not remove, 290
 Save by those shadowy expiations weak,
 The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
 Some blood more precious must be paid for man,
 Just for unjust, that in such righteousness
 To them by faith imputed, they may find 295

Justification towards God, and peace
 Of conscience, which the law by ceremonies
 Cannot appease, nor man the moral part
 Perform, and not performing cannot live.
 So law appears imperfect, and but given 300
 With purpose to resign them in full time
 Up to a better covenant, disciplin'd.
 From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
 From imposition of strict laws, to free
 Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear 305
 To filial, works of law to works of faith.
 And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
 Highly belov'd, being but the minister
 Of law, his people into Canaan lead ;
 But Joshua whom the Gentiles Jesus call, 310
 His name and office bearing who shall quell
 The adversary Serpent, and bring back,
 Through the world's wilderness long wander'd man
 Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.

National apostasy is punished by national calamity.

Meanwhile they, in their earthly Canaan plac't 315
 Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
 National interrupt their public peace,
 Provoking God to raise them enemies ;
 From whom as oft he saves them penitent
 By judges first, then under kings ; of whom 320
 The second, both for piety renown'd
 And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
 Irrevocable, that his regal throne
 For ever shall endure. The like shall sing
 All prophecy, that of the royal stock 325
 Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
 A son, the Woman's Seed to thee foretold,

Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
 All nations ; and to kings foretold, of kings
 The last, for of his reign shall be no end. 330
 But first a long succession must ensue ;
 And his next son, for wealth and wisdom fam'd,
 The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
 Wandering, shall in a glorious temple enshrine.
 Such follow him as shall be register'd, 335
 Part good, part bad ; of bad the longer scroll,
 Whose foul idolatries, and other faults,
 Heapt to the popular sum, will so incense
 God, as to leave them, and expose their land,
 Their city, his temple, and his holy ark 340
 With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
 To that proud city, whose high walls thou sawest
 Left in confusion, Babylon thence call'd.
 There in captivity he lets them dwell
 The space of seventy years.

They are ruled over by alien kings, till the birth
 of the Messiah.

Then brings them back, 345
 Remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn
 To David, establish'd as the days of Heaven.
 Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
 Their lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of God
 They first re-edify, and for a while 350
 In mean estate live moderate, till, grown
 In wealth and multitude, factious they grow ;
 But first among the priests dissension springs,
 Men who attend the altar, and should most
 Endeavour peace ! Their strife pollution brings . 355
 Upon the temple itself ; at last they seize
 The sceptre, and regard not David's sons,

Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
 Anointed king, Messiah, might be born
 Barr'd of his right ; yet at his birth a star, 360
 Unseen before in Heav'n, proclaims him come,
 And guides the eastern sages, who enquire
 His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold.
 His place of birth a solemn angel tells
 , To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night ; 365
 They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
 Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.
 A virgin is his mother, but his sire
 The power of the Most High. He shall ascend
 The throne hereditary, and bound his reign 370
 With Earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.
 He ceas'd, discerning Adam with such joy
 Surcharg'd, as had, like grief, been dew'd in tears.
 Without the vent of words, which these he breath'd.
 ' O prophet of glad tidings, finisher 375
 Of utmost hope ! now clear I understand
 What oft my steadiest thoughts have searcht in vain,
 Why our great Expectation should be call'd
 The Seed of Woman ? Virgin Mother, hail !
 High in the love of Heav'n ! yet from my loins 380
 Thou shalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
 Of God most High : so God with man unites.
 Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise
 Expect with mortal pain. Say where and when 384
 Their fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victor's heel ?

How the prophesy will be fulfilled concerning the
 bruising of the serpent's head.

To whom thus Michael : — ' Dream not of their fight,
 As of a duel, or the local wounds
 Of head or heel. Not therefore joins the Son

Manhood to Godhead, with more strength to foil
The enemy ; nor so is overcome 390
Satan, whose fall from Heaven, a deadlier bruise,
Disabl'd not to give thee thy death's wound :
Which he, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
Not by destroying Satan, but his works
In thee and in thy seed : nor can this be, 395
But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
Obedience to the law of God, impos'd
On penalty of death ; and suffering death,
The penalty to thy transgression due,
And due to theirs, which out of thine will grow : 400
So only can high justice rest appaid
The law of God exact he shall fulfil
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law ; thy punishment
He shall endure by coming in the flesh 405
To a reproachful life and cursed death ;
Proclaiming life to all who shall believe
In his redemption, and that his obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith, his merits
To save them, not their own, though legal works. 410
For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd.
Seiz'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemn'd,
A shameful and accurst, nail'd to the cross
By his own nation, slain for bringing life :
But to the cross he nails thy enemies, 415
The law that is against thee, and the sins
Of all mankind, with him there crucifi'd,
Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
In this his satisfaction ; so he dies,
But soon revives ; Death over him no power 420
Shall long usurp ; ere the third dawning light

Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
 Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light ;
 The ransom paid, which Man from death redeems.
 His death for Man, as many as offer'd life 425
 Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
 By faith not void of works : this God-like act
 Annuls thy doom, the death thou should'st have died,
 • In sin for ever lost from life ; this act
 Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength, 430
 Defeating Sin and Death, his two main arms,
 And fix far deeper in his head their stings
 Than temporal death shall bruise the Victor's heel,
 Or theirs whom he redeems,—a death-like sleep,
 A gentle wafting to immortal life. 435
 Nor, after resurrection, shall he stay
 Longer on Earth than certain times to appear
 To his disciples, men who in his life
 Still follow'd him ; to them shall leave in charge
 To teach all nations what of him they learn'd, 440
 And his salvation ; them who shall believe
 Baptizing in the profluent stream, the sign
 Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
 Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
 For death, like that which the Redeemer died. 445
 All nations they shall teach ; for from that day
 Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
 Salvation shall be preach'd, but to the sons
 Of Abraham's faith, wherever through the world ;
 So in his seed all nations shall be blest. 450
 Then to the Heav'n-of-Heav'ns he shall ascend
 With victory, triumphing through the air
 Over his foes and thine ; there shall surprise
 The Serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains

Through all his realm, and there confounded leave; 455
 Then enter into glory, and resume
 His seat at God's right hand, exalted high
 Above all names in Heav'n; and thence shall come,
 When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
 With glory and power to judge both quick and dead; 460
 To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward
 His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
 Whether in Heav'n or Earth; for then the Earth
 Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
 Than this of Eden, and far happier days.' 465

So spake the archangel Michael, then paus'd,
 As at the World's great period; and our sire
 Replet with joy and wonder, thus replid.

Adam now rejoicing to hear of the Messiah's work, learns
 also of the Comforter.

' O goodness infinite, goodness immense !
 That all this good of evil shall produce, 470
 And evil turn to good ; more wonderful
 Than that which by creation first brought forth
 Light out of darkness ! full of doubtful stand,
 Whether I should repent me now of sin,
 By me done and occasion'd, or rejoice 475
 Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring ;
 To God more glory, more good-will to men
 From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
 But say, if our Deliverer up to Heav'n
 Must re-ascend, what will betide the few, 480
 His faithful, left among the unfaithful herd,
 The enemies of truth ? Who then shall guide
 His people, who defend ? will they not deal
 Worse with his followers than with him they dealt ?
 ' Be sure they will,' said the angel ; ' but from Heaven

He to his own a Comforter will send, 486
 The promise of the Father, who shall dwell,
 His Spirit within them, and the law of faith
 Working through love upon their hearts shall write,
 To guide them in all truth ; and also arm 490
 With spiritual armour, able to resist
 Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts ;
 •What man can do against them, not afraid,
 Though to the death ; against such cruelties
 With inward consolations recompens't, 495
 And oft supported so as shall amaze
 Their proudest persecutors : for the Spirit
 Pour'd first on his apostles, whom he sends
 To evangelize the nations, then on all
 Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts endue 500
 To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
 As did their Lord before them. * Thus they win
 Great numbers of each nation to receive
 With joy the tidings brought from Heaven : at length
 Their ministry perform'd, and race well run, 505
 Their doctrine and their story written left,
 They die. •
 ••

Apostasy foretold. .

But in their room, as they forewarn,
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
 Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
 To their own vile advantages shall turn 510
 Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left only in those written records pure,
 Though not but by the Spirit understood.
 Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
 Places and titles, and with these to join

Secular power ; though feigning still to act
 By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
 The Spirit of God, promised alike and given
 To all believers ; and from that pretence, 520
 Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
 On every conscience ; laws which none shall find
 Left them enroll'd, or what the Spirit within
 Shall on the hearth engrave. What will they then
 But force the Spirit of grace itself, and bind 525
 His consort Liberty ? what, but unbuild
 His living temples, built by faith to stand,
 Their own faith, not another's : for on Earth
 Who against faith and conscience can be heard
 Infallible ? yet many will presume : 530
 Whence heavy persecution shall arise
 On all who in the worship persevere
 Of Spirit and Truth ; the rest, far greater part,
 Will deem in outward rites and specious forms
 Religion satisfied ; Truth shall retire 535
 Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of faith
 Rarely be found. So shall the world go on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benign,
 Under her own weight groaning, till the day

The new Heaven and new Earth.

Appear of respiration to the just, 540
 And vengeance to the wicked, at return
 Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid,
 The Woman's Seed, obscurely then foretold,
 Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
 Last in the clouds from Heaven to be reveal'd 545
 In glory of the Father, to dissolve
 Satan with his perverted world, than raise
 From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,

New heavens, new Earth, ages of endless date,
 Founded in righteousness and peace and love, 550
 To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss.'

He ended ; and thus Adam last repli'd.
 'How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,
 Measur'd this transient world, the race of Time,
 Till Time stand fixt ? beyond is all abyss, 555
 Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.
 Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
 Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
 Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain ;
 Beyond which was my folly to aspire. 560
 Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
 And love with fear the only God, to walk
 As in his presence, ever to observe
 His providence, and on him sole depend,
 Merciful over all his works, with good 565
 Still overcoming evil, and by small
 Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
 Subverting worldly-strong, and worldly-wise
 By simply-meek ; that suffering for truth's sake
 Is fortitude to highest victory, 570
 And, to the faithful, Death the gate of Life :
 Taught this by his example, whom I now
 Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.'

To whom thus also the angel last repli'd :
 ' This having learnt, thou hast attain'd the sum 575
 Of wisdom ; hope no higher, though all the stars
 Thou knewest by name, and all the ethereal powers,
 All secrets of the Deep, all Nature's works,
 Or works of God in heaven, air, earth, or sea,
 And all the riches of this world enjoydst, 580
 And all the rule, one empire. Only add

Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,
 Add virtue, patience, temperance ; add love,
 By name to come call'd charity, the soul
 Of all the rest : then wilt thou not be loth 585
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
 A Paradise within thee, happier far.

Adam descending from the hill rejoins Eve.

Let us descend now therefore from this top
 Of speculation, for the hour precise
 Exacts our parting hence ; and see ! the guards 590
 By me encamp't on yonder hill, expect
 Their motion ; at whose front a flaming sword,
 In signal of remove, waves fiercely round ;
 We may no longer stay ; go, waken Eve ;
 Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd, 595
 Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
 To meek submission : thou, at season fit
 Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard ;
 Chiefly what may concern her faith to know,
 The great deliverance by her Seed to come 600
 (For by the Woman's Seed) on all mankind ;
 That ye may live, which will be many days,
 Both in one faith unanimous, though sad
 With cause for evils past, yet much more cheer'd
 With meditation on the happy end.' 605

He ended, and they both descend the hill ;
 Descended, Adam to the bower where Eve
 Lay sleeping ran before, but found her wak't ;
 And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.

'Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st I know ;
 For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise, 611
 Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
 Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress

Wearied I fell asleep. But now lead on,
 In me is no delay ; with thee to go, 615
 Is to stay here ; without thee here to stay,
 Is to go hence unwilling ; thou to me
 Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
 Who for my wilful crime art banisht hence.
 This further consolation yet secure 620
 I carry hence ; though all by me is lost,
 Such favour I unworthy am vouchsaft,
 By me the Promis'd Seed shall all restore.'

So spake our mother Eve ; and Adam heard
 Well pleas'd, but answer'd not ; for now too nigh 625
 The archangel stood ; and from the other hill
 To their fixt station, all in bright array
 The cherubim descended ; on the ground
 Gliding meteorous, as evening mist,
 Risen from a river, o'er the marsh glides, 630
 And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
 Homeward returning. High in front advanc't,
 The brandisht sword of God before them blaz'd
 Fierce as a comet ; which with torried heat,
 And vapour as the Libyan air adust, 635
 Began to parch that temperate clime,

Escorted by the Angel, they sadly take leave of Paradise.

Whereat

In either hand the hastening angel caught
 Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
 Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
 To the subjected plain ; then disappear'd. 640
 They looking back, all the eastern side beheld
 Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
 Wav'd over by that flaming brand ; the gate
 With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms.

Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon ;
The world was all before them, where to choose 646
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide. •
They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

NOTES.

BOOK X.

Before proceeding to the study of bk. x, we should be certain that we are familiar with the story of the preceding Book, for on this it all hangs. Bk. ix is one of the most delightful of the whole twelve book of *Paradise Lost*. First of all however let the student make himself familiar with the scriptural narrative of the Fall, as it stands in Genesis iii. What the poet does in bk. ix. is to touch this uncoloured story into life and beauty by the power of his imagination. The following is a brief outline:—

Adam and Eve, the first human pair, have been placed in a pleasant garden. Everything around them is fitted to delight the senses and uplift mind and heart to God their Creator. Of the fruit of the garden they may freely eat, but the tree that grows in the midst of the garden is forbidden them. This was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. For some time, this command, the one and only restraint upon their liberty, is respected by them. But one day Satan, the enemy of God and man, having assumed the form of a serpent, presents himself before Eve, and with insinuating arguments induces her to taste of the fruit. She goes forthwith to her husband and plays the same part towards him, that Satan has just played towards herself, inducing him by participation of the fruit to share in her transgression. The effect on them both is immediate and disastrous. They lose their former sense of innocence, and they can no longer think of God as their Friend. Afraid of meeting him in their walks, they yield to an entirely new impulse—they flee from his face, and conceal themselves among the thickest trees of the garden. Here they were engaged in an angry dispute at the close of bk. ix. In Milton's wonderful amplification of the story, no circumstance is omitted that can add beauty and glamour to the narrative, intensify the dramatic interest, and heighten its moral significance.

The Tenth Book is not unworthy of the Book that precedes it. Its ruling idea is "divine judgment." Thus it reminded Addison of the last Act of a well-written tragedy. It may lack the unity of bk. ix, but its variety gives it interest—the scene shifts from Earth to Heaven, then back again to Earth; then later on we are transported to Hell among the lost angels; but from the darkness we return again to Earth and to our first parents. "The tenth book of *Paradise Lost* has a greater variety of persons in it than any other in the whole poem."

The following divisions, even if somewhat fanciful and incomplete, may be helpful to student. (Each of the three sections is introduced by the word "Meanwhile").

(1) 1—228. The sentence passed on Man's disobedience and also on the Tempter.

(2) 229—584. The exultation of Satan and his fellows, and how it is punished by their being changed into reptiles. In the case of man, we see how mercy can "season justice." But for the tempter and his associates, no mercy is reserved, but only unmitigated woe and torment.

(3) 585—end. The results of the Fall upon Nature, which suffers along with man. Adam and Eve bewail their sin, not only for what it has brought upon themselves, but also for what it will bring upon those who shall live after them.

1—84. The tidings of Man's fall are conveyed with all speed to Heaven by the angelic band whose duty it was to keep intruders out of Paradise. Notwithstanding their failure to keep out Satan, they are declared free from blame in this matter, Satan's entrance being inevitable. The consternation among the angels is great, when they learn that sin has found entrance so soon into the New World. But God reminds them that what has come to pass was all foreseen and foreknown. He forthwith sends down his Son in the role of viceroy, to pass sentence upon the transgressors.

1. Heinous and spiteful. Both words are expressive of contempt, with different shades of meaning. 'Prompted by hatred and prompted by defiance.' It was contemptible to avenge himself on weaker creatures simply because God was too strong for him to retaliate upon. Satan's plan was originally unfolded at the Council of Pandemonium in bk. ii, where, speaking of 'the puffy habitants' of the new world, he had said he would—

Seduce them to [his] party, that their God
Might prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Abolish his own works. This would surpass
Common revenge.

3. He in the serpent. Using the dumb animal as his mouth-piece. Perverted. to=pervverted and induced to. Pregnant construction.

4. Her husband she. And how she in turn had perverted her husband.

5. In Heaven. To the Almighty. Scape. Escape.

7. Omniscient. All-knowing. In all things wise and just. Wise and just in all things.

8. Attempt. Tempt, attempt to seduce.

9. With...armed, &c. Furnished with enough strength and not handicapped in the exercise of his freedom: therefore able to discover (=expose and repel) Satan's insidious advances. (K. places the comma after complete, but a change of comma is unnecessary).

11. Whatever wiles=any wiles whatever.

Seeming friend. It was in this character that Satan presented himself in the garden. He insinuated that the interdict upon the tree of knowledge was merely intended to keep up their ignorance and servility.

12. They. Adam and Eve. 'Man' in l. 9 is of coarse collective.

13. High. Solemn, momentous.

14. Whoever tempted. No matter who tempted them.

14. Which they, &c. Which (injunction) not obeying, they incurred the penalty (attached to non-compliance). Could less be expected, when we consider the solemnity of the command, and the character of the lawgiver?

16. Manifold in sin. The older commentators point out that in the one act of disobedience there was involved the violation of every precept of the law, for it included unbelief, discontent, evil curiosity, &c.

18. The angelic guards. A company of cherubim, under Gabriel. See iv. 56l. Sad=sorry.

19. For Man. Collective, as in l. 9. By this. By this time.

20,21. Had stolen entrance. Had entered the garden privily. He had "wrapped himself in mist of midnight vapour." ix. 158.

23-25. Dim sadness...pity. Even the angels, at the tidings of Man's fall, were not exempt from sorrow. But sorrow, if it wear the garb of pity in no way diminishes blessedness. (This reflection is added apparently to obviate an objection that might be taken to the poet ascribing sadness to celestial spirits).

Etherial people. A quaint phrase for the "inhabitants of Heaven." They are all excitement to know the news, and have even parted with some of their dignity.

28. They are accountable for*their remissness, not to their fellow angels, but only to the Supreme. Ignoring the crowds of angels that have gathered round them, the messengers make straight for the Throne, in order to justify themselves in the face of the catastrophe that has happened.

31. And easily approved. "Made to appear right". This is one of the meanings of the Latin *approbo*. Their plea that there had been no dereliction of duty was admitted. See l. 37.

32. Secret cloud. The cloud that concealed his presence.

God himself was invisible ; but through rifts in the encompassing cloud his skirts appeared, "dark with excess of light".

33. **Amidst.** From the midst of his secret cloud.

34. **Powers.** A word applied only to the higher Orders among the angels. See line 165 below.

38. **Foretold so lately.** Forewarned, as you were, not so long ago. For the warning referred to, see bk. iii. 80. What has been predicted should be no cause for surprise.

40. **Prevail.** (over Man). **Speed**=prosper.

42. **Lies**, viz. that the fruit would do them no harm, would give them wisdom and actually raise them to the status of gods ; that the interdiction was intended to keep them in a condition of servitude, etc.

43. **No decree of mine.** &c. Observe how the already long period is farther spun out by the addition of a long absolute clause. A characteristic sentence.

45. **Moment of impulse.** 'Moment' here is equivalent to the Latin *momentum*, (an abbreviation of *movimentum*), a movement in space or time, and, when taken figuratively, 'a particle sufficient to turn the balanced scales.' This latter is the meaning here. Free will is likened to an evenly adjusted pair of scales. The point of the statement lies in Man having been completely his own master when he fell into sin. For this sense of the word, cf.

Each on himself relied
As only in his arm the *moment* lay
Of victory.

48. **What rests ?** What remains ? A Latinism.

Mortal sentence. Pronouncement of death. It had been predicted to Adam, "In the day thou eatest, thou shalt die." This also explains that day.

50. **Vain and void.** A dead letter. The sentence appears to them to have been an empty threat, seeing that they still freely draw breath in Paradise, in spite of their having tasted of the tree.

53. **Forbearance no acquittance.** Though delayed, the sentence is not cancelled.

54. **Justice...scorned.** Justice cannot be set at naught with impunity, though the Almighty's favours have been scorned. The use of "return" is peculiar, but not more peculiar here than in the well-known words of Scripture 'My word shall not *return* unto me void', (evidently in the poet's mind).

55. There is an echo here of the words : "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Isaiah vi. 8. The divine person in Genesis iii. who appears in the garden at the cool of the day is here identified with the divine Son afterwards incarnate as Jesus. Genesis only speaks of the LORD GOD.

56. **Vicegerent Son.** A vicegerent is one who acts for another. Here Milton is thinking of the statement in John v. 22. "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son."

59. **Mercy colleague with justice.** This seems to mean that the Son is milder than the Father, and his sentence therefore likely to be more merciful. Out of this passage, one might gather that there was opposition, instead of harmony, in the divine nature. This is not consonant with those passages of Scripture where the Son is said to be "the express image" of the Father, not milder, therefore, than the Father, nor more truly the friend of men. **Colleague**=associate.

60. **Mediator.** "One who acts the part of peacemaker." **Designed.** Intended (at some future time, viz. when the Son of God should be born into the world as the son of Mary).

61. **Ransom and Redeemer.** Two aspects of the "atone ment": Cf. Milton's words in his Treatise on Christian Doctrine: "Redemption is that act whereby Christ, being sent in the fulness of time, redeemed all believers at the price of his own blood, by his voluntary act." Curiously the same four ideas are in this single sentence which are also in the words "His designed both ransom and redeemer voluntary." These are:—

(1) That Man's redemption was ordained or designed previous to the Fall.

(2) That the demand of Justice requires a **Ransom** as a condition of forgiveness.

(3) That Jesus, in giving his life as a Ransom, earns the title of **Redeemer**.

(4) That He acted of his own free will—his sacrifice was voluntary.

62. **And destined Man himself.** And, one day to become incarnate as Son of Mary.

63. **Unfolding brightly.** The cloud is rifted, and the Father sheds his glorious light upon the Son at the time he appoints him his vicegerent.

67. **Expressed.** Reflected.

68. **To decree.** To determine what is to take place.

70. **Supreme.** Because there is none higher than God.

73. **Whoever.** Whether Father or son.

The worst. The giving of his life referred to under (3) in the note on l. 61.

74. **So I undertook.** See (4) above.

77. On me derived. Diverted from the guilty and laid upon the guiltless. Temper. Mitigate.

78. Illustrate. Display to advantage.

79. Them. Justice and Mercy. And thee appease. "Thee" stands for the 'interests of divine justice,' which in Milton's view seem to be of more concern to the Father than to the Son.

80. No attendants on this embassy will be required. The Son is not to go in state. 'Need' is intransitive = be needed.

82. The third (party). This is Satan, self-convicted by his flight.

84. i.e. the serpent as a dumb animal, the unconscious instrument of another's wickedness, has done nothing deserving of punishment. Whether this is consistent with what we shall find at l. 174 is questionable. (Keightley saves Milton's consistency, but only at the cost of a strained interpretation of none belongs, which he takes to mean "is so plain, that it requires no proof.")

85-208. The Son, coming down in the character of Mediator, in obedience to his Father's will, finds Adam and Eve concealed among the trees and fearing to meet him as at other times. He examines each in turn, finds them guilty, and pronounces their sentence. Justice, however, is tempered with mercy, but only where Man is concerned. The doom pronounced on the Serpent is capable (as will be seen) of a double construction. Apparently only applicable to the "most subtle of all the beasts of the field," the words may be constructed as referring to the Evil One, of whom the animal was the tool. Eve's sentence includes sorrow in child-bearing, and a position of inferiority in relation to her husband. The man on the other hand is condemned to gain his living by the sweat of his brow, till he returns to the dust from whence he was taken.

86. Collateral glory. Glory of the Son as seated side by side with the Father.

Thrones, &c. The various Orders of angels. Mediæval theologians divided heavenly beings into three hierarchies, each of which was subdivided into three Orders. Milton makes little of these hard and fast divisions, but is fond of the sound of the time-honoured titles.

89. Coast. Neighbouring country.

91. Counts not. Cannot count, for their flight is too rapid.

92. The Scriptural narrative will now be very closely adhered to, as far as line 228.

Now was the sun. "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day."

In western cadence. "Sloping to the west."

94. **Usher in.** Introduce (in state).

95. **From wrath more cool.** More devoid of wrath than the evening air was devoid of heat.

96. **Judge and Intercessor.** Because seasoning justice with mercy. **Intercessor**=Mediator, as in l. 60.

105. **Entertained with solitude.** Left to my own company, deserted. A vivacious expression.

106. **Where...unsought.** Whereas as other times, you came to meet me of your own accord, from a sense of dutifulness. Of the three explanations suggested in the text, the second is of course the right one.

109. **More loth.** Less willing, (from womanly modesty).

112. **Apparent.** Manifest; visible upon their faces, confessed in all their actions.

113,4. These combined passions plainly prove the 'manifoldness' of their crime noted in l. 16.

115. **Whence.** As the result of these passions working within him.

118. **Reville.** Reproach. Here a noun.

124. **Sore beset.** His sin has now "found him out."

127. **Myself.** In my own person. **Crime** is here=accusation, the usual meaning in Latin.

129. **My other self.** My wife.

131. **Strict necessity, &c.** Adam wavers between the nobler course (of taking all the responsibility on his shoulders), and the more cowardly one (of shielding himself behind a weak woman). He justifies the second alternative on the ground that the total punishment might be greater than his shoulders could bear. (Before the end of the present bk., Adam will manifest a nobler spirit).

140. **From her hand.** As her gift. Adam means that he himself had not stretched forth his hand nor plucked the fruit from the tree.

141. And whatever she did—good or bad alike—was done with a sweet grace, that made it appear perfectly innocent.

146. **Before.** In preference to.

147. **Or but equal.** Or even on a level with thee.

149. **Made of thee, &c.** (1) From one of thy ribs, and (2) in order to be thy helpmate. Proofs of the sex's inferiority! We are here reminded of Milton the pamphleteer. There are too many passages of like temper in these concluding books—in which there seems to speak to us not 'the Milton of poetry' but that other Milton, not

seldom disfigured 'by want of amenity, by acerbity,' as Mathew Arnold puts it.

152. To attract thy love, not (to accomplish) thy subjection. An instance of zeugma. The verb does not apply to 'subjection', but only to 'love'.

154,5. i.e., woman's sphere is submission to, not the exercise of, authority.

155. Part and person. *Persona*, in Latin, meant (1) an actor's mask, and hence (2) the *part* or *character* the actor represented. The two words in the text are thus practically identical.

160. Soon=promptly; but not bold or garrulous before such a Judge.

165. Though (a) brute, (and for this cause) unable to transfer, &c. To lay the blame at another's door, the real culprit's (=Satan's); just as Adam had tried to shift the responsibility on Eve.

167. Polluted from the end, etc. Pregnant construction. Polluted (or corrupted) *and turned aside* from the end (or true object) of his creation.

Justly then (=that day) accursed, (=doomed to misery). The justice is not apparent unless the vitiation of the serpent's nature was now past cure. The poet's opinion seems to be that mere instrumentality in such a case was beyond forgiveness. The sentiment in l. 84 was ethically higher.

169. More to know. What is not here communicated to him by the Son, because it did not concern him to know it, (viz. that Satan was the real tempter, the animal only the mouthpiece); this is afterwards guessed at by Adam, (l. 1033) and is fully explained to him by Michael in bk. xii.

171. Nor altered his offence, (i. e. his nature or gravity).

At last. Last. Satan's sentence is pronounced last of all.

173. Mysterious terms, because the words, besides their obvious, had also a latent meaning. On some reflection this became apparent to Adam. The narrative in Genesis speaks of nothing but the serpent, not a hint is given of the machinations of a fallen angel. Yet we feel as we read the story that more is meant than that evil was introduced into the world by a mere brute.

Judged as then best, as seemed best at that time. Perhaps it was best that Adam should discover the truth by his own ponderings.

174. Curse. The verb means to execrate by the sign of the cross. The Swedish Kors (cross) is used as an interjection; our word comes through the A. S. cursian.

175-181. *The sentence on the Serpent* deviates little from the words of Scripture.

177. *Upon thy belly.* Before this time, the serpent went *erect*. See how his gait is described in bk ix, 'not with indented wave, Prone on the ground, as since; but on his rear, his head Crested aloft.'

182. *Then verified.* This passage has been described as a "coagulation" of Scriptural texts. Of the several texts quoted, nearly all refer to the victories of the Messiah over the forces of evil. (1) Genesis iii, 15:—"And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel." Some see in these words nothing but a reference to the natural antipathy between the human species and reptiles. Many commentators however have seen in the verse a reference to the coming of the Messiah into the world at a later era.

Milton is silent here on the overthrow of Satan in the wilderness, on which he based his later epic. Instead of this, he refers to Jesus' vision of Satan (called in Ephesians ii, 2, the Prince of the power of the air) at the moment of falling like lightning from Heaven.

Rising from the grave. After his resurrection, Jesus' conflict with the forces of evil still goes on, but on a grander scale. Concerning them, we read in Colossians (ii. 15). "And having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly." The interpretation of these words is extremely difficult, widely different views being held. It is certain that their lofty sound would please the poet's ear, quite independent of their meaning.

With ascension bright. This event takes place forty days after the resurrection. Jesus, in the sight of his disciples, disappears into the clouds. Reference to this seems to be made in one of the Psalms (lxxviii 13,) "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive"—just as Greece was said to have 'captured her captor.'

191. *Even he i.e.* The Lord God spoken of in the third chapter of Genesis is the same Jesus Christ who afterwards was born in Bethlehem and suffered under Pontius Pilate.

193-196. *The sentence on the woman.* "The outstanding evils of woman's life and lot presented themselves to the Hebrews under the heads here mentioned"—"the pain in, yet longing for child-bearing; and her inferior position." Dods, Commentary on Genesis.

198-208. *The sentence on the man.* The man is doomed to a life of labour which is to ultimate in death. Already [on his first occupation of Paradise] man's work had been to dress the garden, but up till now the labour had been pleasant, easy and productive. Henceforth it will be (1) repellent, *in sorrow shalt thou eat thereof*

all the days of thy life ; (2) unyielding thorns and thistles it shall bring forth ; (3) full of toil in the sweat of thy face, thou shalt eat bread ; (4) without cessation, till thou return to the ground. Ibid.

198. Milton's fidelity to the very words of Scripture is here prejudicial to the music of his versification. The second and fifth feet of this line are anapaests = two unaccented syllables, followed by an accented one.

204. **Unbidden.** *Litotes*, for the meaning is much stronger—"to thy actual annoyance."

207. **Thy birth.** Thy origin, viz. the dust. But the heart of man cries out with the writer of *In Memoriam*:—

"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust ;
Thou madest man, he knows not why ;
He thinks he was not made to die ;
And thou hast made him : thou art just."

209—228. This part of the poem closes with a passage of unusual tenderness. Seeing our first parents shivering before him in their nakedness, (which hitherto has been no inconvenience to them the climate till now being mild and pleasant), the Son of God girds himself to the lowly task of preparing for them coats of skin for clothing. A symbolic meaning in the action is hinted at, viz. the covering of their sins with the robe of his innocence.

His mission of judgment tempered with clemency being thus ended, the Son speedily returns to his Father's presence.

212. **The air, that now must suffer change.** Readers of *As You Like It* will here remember the words of the exiled Duke in the Forest of Arden:—

"Here feel we but the *penalty of Adam*,
The season's difference, as the icy fang
And churlish chiding of the winter's wind."

As there is no hint of such a change of climate anywhere in the Bible story, is it not possible that Milton was indebted to Shakespeare for the idea in this present passage?

215. **Thenceforth... Assume.** Milton pays a tribute to the condescension of Jesus. This trait of character appears most strikingly in the story of the washing of the disciples' feet as told by St. John. Milton refers also to an illustrative passage in Philippians (ii. 7), where we read how the Son of God, "made himself of no reputation, but took upon him the form of a servant." Cf. too, Jesus' words in John xiii. 5, "I am among you as one that serveth." There is a fine touch of genius in the mere juxtaposition of the Genesis incident and that in the Gospel narrative.

217, 8. **Or...or.** The poet leaves it an open question whether the fells were obtained by killing the animals and flaying them ; or came off without injury to the wearers, like the casting of a snake's skin.

Repaid. The new coat was, as it were, a recompense for the old one.

219. Thought (it) not much (condescension on his part). His enemies. His quondam enemies, for they had fled his approach.

221-2. Inward nakedness,...robe of righteousness. Observe how their spiritual needs are symbolically described in terms of their temporal needs, just now provided for.

Cf. Rev. iii. 17, 18. Because thou sayest, I have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art naked: I counsel thee to buy of me white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness may not appear." "Robe of righteousness" is borrowed from Isaiah lxi. 10.

223. Covered...sight. As we saw above, the Father and the Son are two different individuals to Milton, who was a supporter of the Arian heresy.

226. Glory = the place of glory, Heaven.

To him appeased. To God now appeased with man—owing to the Son's mediation.

229-325. A lively and entertaining section now begins. The poet re-introduces two beings, whose origin was accounted for in an earlier part of the poem. (See the latter part of bk. ii). Sin and Death, near relations of Satan, have been placed in charge of the gates of Hell, with injunction (which they have not kept) to allow neither ingress nor egress. The success of Satan's mission far away in Paradise is strangely communicated to their minds without the medium of the usual channels of information and once put in possession of the news, they are impelled by an irresistible instinct to go forth and possess this new world Satan has conquered for them. Filled with joy and excitement over the pleasing prospect of prey, they are inspired to accomplish a great piece of engineering, viz. to unite Hell and the World by a mighty bridge or causeway, which they throw across the gulf of Chaos. This highway is intended both to expedite Satan's return, and to render future intercommunication between the two widely separated regions of Hell and the Universe at once safe and pleasurable.

229. Sinned (by man) and Judged (by God). The two verbs are used impersonally—a common Latin idiom.

230. Sin and Death. See the famous allegory, bk. ii, 629 seq. Sin was suddenly born out of the head of Satan as he was hatching the conspiracy to overthrow the Supreme. After the expulsion from Heaven, Sin brought forth Death (as the fruit of Satan's early amours with her in Heaven), and later he assisted her to keep the gates of Hell which had been committed to her charge. This allegory is founded on James i. 15.

231. In counterview. Facing each other.

232. **Belching outrageous flame.** At Satan's command, the gates had been opened to permit of his going forth in quest of Man. Smoke and flame had then rushed out as from the mouth of a furnace, and this had continued ever since.

234. **Sin opening.** When Sin opened for him. Absolute construction.

236. **Author thrives. Parent prospers.**

239. **If mishap** (had attended him on his enterprise).

240. **With fury driven. Furiously driven back.**

242. **Can fit, &c.** Is so well adapted for his punishment, and therefore for gratifying their revenge.

245. **This deep** (of Chaos). The speaker is peering through the gates into Chaos, and she would fain know what was happening on the farther side.

245. **Whatever draws me on.** Adverbial clause belonging to 'I feel' above. Satan's daughter owns to a strong impulse—which reason cannot account for—to wander forth. New fields seem to await her occupation and she is stirred to action.

246. Here is a passage that would surely be considered not unworthy of attention by the members of the Psychical Research Society, yet, an old commentator is sure that the "now exploded notion" it contains can give nothing but offence to people of enlightenment. It will be an unhappy day for the poets when "exploded notions" are no longer to be exploited by them. Milton here anticipates the science of telepathy, which many not absurd people believe in to-day, and of which the late Mr. Myers was the most outstanding exponent. Masson, whose commentary appeared some years before the introduction of the word 'telepathy', explains the process of transmission as 'a kind of telegraphic shiver'.

Milton does not profess to say whether the faculty is innate—connatural—or is born of sympathy. It is surely paradoxical to assert that it operates most powerfully when the greatest distance has to be overcome. It is essentially a drawing together by secret amity of things of like kind—i.e. Satan and she are in such thorough rapport with each other, however far apart they are at present, that space is no barrier between them. But how communications can pass from one mind to the other is a profound mystery—the conveyance is secretest.

249 **Thou my shade.** We are reminded of the much admired description in bk. ii. (l. 669)

The other shape,—

If shape it might be called that shape had done
Distinguishable in member, joint or limb,
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
For each seemed either.

253. **Stay.** Delay ~~to~~ hinder.

256. **Not unagreeable.** Litotes. "Very congenial."

257. **This main,** i. e. vastitude. Connected with the Latin, *magnus*.

258. **A monument.** Something to commemorate Satan's achievement.

260, 261. **Intercourse or transmigration.** The first of these alternatives contemplates their continued residence in Hell, with occasional visits to the world; the other, perhaps the abandonment of Hell and the colonization of their newly conquered territory.

266. There is no fear of missing my way, with thee to lead me on.

267. **Such a scent, &c.** The telepathic instinct conquers *time*, as well as distance. There was as yet no carnage to be smelt.

Carnage. Putrid matter, such as vultures prey upon.

273. **As when a flock etc.** The simile is based on Matthew xxiv. 23. "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." Cf. the following, quoted by Todd from an old play:

'Tis said of vultures,
They scent a field fought : and do smell the carcasses
By many hundred miles.

277. **Living carcasses.** Oxymoron; unless the telepathic instinct was a *very* remarkable power, as suggested in the note on l. 267.

279. **Grim feature.** Fixed of cruel shape.

281. **Sagacious of his quarry.** Keen to scent his prey.

283. **Anarchy.** This word is apparently used concretely, after the analogy of "monarchy". It means a region where rule is absent—which is just the description of Chaos in bk. ii.

284. **Diverse.** Not at opposite angles, but in parallel lines, with a wide space between.

285. The construction of the bridge is described with Milton's greatest vigour. It will help the student to go back to the wonderful description of Chaos in bk. ii. It is a wild abyss, a dark, illimitable ocean, without bound; a region where the elements are in continual warfare. One part of it is compared to "a boggy Syrtis, neither sea, nor good dry land". But it is mostly a liquid mass, swimming with solid or semi-solid (i. e. slimy l. 286) matter, on the top, or underneath, or at various depths; but ever in motion. It is this vast region that has to be bridged. Keeping in their minds the line of direction leading

from Hell towards the place where they are now mysteriously attracted, the two builders, working some distance apart, on opposite sides of this line, begin to heap up solid matter all the way along. Thus there is formed a sort of rampart, which soon rises above the surface of the watery deep. This is what is expressed by the words in l. 288, from each side shoaling = forming a shoal or deposit.

But this is only the first stage in the operation. Next comes the ramming down, and pounding into a hard, solid mass. This is accomplished in part by the help of the stony Gorgonian stare, of Death (l. 296). There remains a third process. One end has to be securely fastened to the "roots of Hell," and the other pinned and chained at the opposite end where it touches the outer extremity of this "round world,"—our universe.

288, 289. *Drove...shoaling.* In the original there is no comma after "shoaling," but some editors supply one. "Towards the mouth of Hell" may be taken with both the verbs, whose meanings are practically identical. What was the 'shoaling', but just the driving or heaping together of the solid material?

289. etc. Three similes are introduced to give us a more vivid conception of these two furies and their work.

289. *First Simile.* The two evil spirits are likened to two adverse winds; the materials they heap together are likened to the mountains of ice that obstruct the passage between the Arctic Ocean and what is now the Bering Sea.

The Cronian Sea. A name for the Arctic Ocean (borrowed from Pliny). *Beyond Petsora.* Petchora is a gulf situated on the N. E. coast of Russian Europe. The Cathaian Coast is the coast of Cathay, or China. But see note on xi. 388.

293. *Aggregated. Heaped together.*

294. *Mace.* A heavy club formerly used in battle for breaking metal armour: here used like the road-maker's rammer. *Petrific* = having power to petrify, or turn into stone.

296. *Second Simile.* Delos. One of the Isles of Greece. It is said to have floated about till fastened down by Zeus, that on it Leto might securely give birth to Apollo.

297. *Gorgonian rigour.* Rigidity like that produced by the gaze of the Gorgons, (three frightful monsters who had the power of turning into stone all who dared to look upon them.)

300. *Wrought on.* Either transitive = worked on, carried along (the bridge); or intransitive, in which case "bridge" is to be taken as the cognate object to the verb. *Mole.* "A solid mass of masonry built out into the sea."

302. *The wall immoveable.* The World or Mundane Universe is here regarded by Milton in accordance with the "Ptolemaic system;"

the Earth is supposed to be at the centre of the Universe and all the other celestial bodies carried round her in their several spheres. The outer covering of the system is known as the *Primum mobile* or "first moved." Two points in regard to this last ought to be borne in mind. (1) Of all the spheres it is the only one composed of solid substance. It has been compared to a shell or crust, enclosing the whole system. This is the explanation of the wall immovable of this now fenceless world. (2) The only way into the interior was through an opening at its Zenith. This was why the bridge did not terminate at the Nedir (or inferior pole) of the Universe, which was so much nearer to Hell.

303. Fenceless, unguarded, defenceless, exposed to inroads of Hellish beings.

305. Inoffensive. Presenting no obstructions.

307. *Third simile.* Xerxes. In B. C. 480, this Persian monarch set out from his capital, Susa, to overthrow Greece. He built a bridge of boats over the Hellespont, and marched over it two millions of fighting men. But his progress was checked at the famous pass of Thermopylae, and the expedition finally ended in disaster. And scourged...waves. When his first bridge was shattered by a storm, Xerxes ordered the heads of the officers who had superintended the building of it to be cut off, and the sea to receive three hundred lashes with a scourge.

313. Pontifical. Pontifex in Latin means priest; literally "bridge-maker." (The earliest priests were perhaps put in charge of bridges over the Tiber). In line 348, we have the word pontifice meaning bridge, or bridge-work.

314. Vexed abyss—referring to the storms that according to the description in bk. ii. formed one of the principal features of Chaos.

317. Outside bare. The "wall immovable" of l. 302.

320. And now, &c. His description finished, the poet pauses for a moment to give us time to realize what has been accomplished—and well he might. For was there ever such a piece of engineering executed with such fell intents?

323. Three several ways. An important strategic point has been gained, that will afford the warriors of Hell an immense advantage in the conquests which seem to lie ahead of them. The place where the new bridge ends is a great military outpost and is now the meeting-place of three great highways. These are (1) the causeway just completed, going Hellwards, (2) the golden way connecting the Universe with the Empyrean overhead,—likened elsewhere to a ladder "that scaled by steps of gold to Heaven gate." (3) The remaining path is that now about to be trodden by Sin and Death, and will bring them to their destination, where there work of conquest and havoc is about to take place.

326. *Tending*. The word refers to the strange attraction that has wafted them along.

326-409. Satan meanwhile, having quitted Paradise is on his way back to Pandemonium. He is of course a fugitive from justice, but none the less full of delight over the success of his enterprise in Paradise, tidings of which he is eager to impart to his crew of followers. Having reached, in the course of his journey, the Zenith of the Universe, he is now, as he doubtless thinks, about to enter upon the unpleasantest part of his homeward way, when the unexpected sight of his 'children dear' gives him a most agreeable surprise. And the joy of meeting is mutual. Sin gives him an account of the building of the bridge, the workmanship of which has filled Satan with unbounded admiration. But Sin disclaims all merit, as the scheme had owed its accomplishment entirely to Satan's victory over Man. After a pleasant exchange of compliments, they each go their several ways—Satan to find his followers, Sin and Death to find out Adam and Eve.

328. *Steering (for) his zenith*. Only at the zenith could he emerge from the Celestial universe. Milton presupposes that his reader is familiar with the "signs of the Zodiac." Satan on his outward journey had a humiliating encounter with the angel Uriel, "Regent of the Sun," and now on his homeward journey he is trying to avoid his neighbourhood. As the sun happens to be in the sign of the Ram (Aries), in order to keep himself at a safe distance from observation he guides his way between the constellations of the Archer (here called Centaur) and the Scorpion. These are away in another part of the heavens.

332. *Eve seduced*. Eve's seducing. A mannerism copied from Latin. Milton thinks Eve's seduction of less consequence than Adam's, which follows it.

333. *Changing shape*. Throwing off the disguise of the serpent.

335. *Unweeting, seconded*. Satan now sees the same thing as he has done *seconded* i. e., *done over again* by Eve; but in her case the act is an innocent one. "She knew not what she did." "*Unweeting*" means unknowing, (connected with the Sanskrit root *vid* to know).

337. *Covertures*. Coverings for their nakedness. "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons." Gen. iii. 7. Vain, because the fig leaves could not conceal their *inward* nakedness.

339, 340. *Shun the present*. In fleeing from present justice, he knew he was merely putting off the evil day.

341. *That past*. "After the son's re-ascent to heaven." l. 224.

343. *Sat talking sadly of what had happened, and bewailing the event from different points of view*.

344. Gather'd. Learn at second hand. They have been talking about the three sentences, and Satan has acted the part of eavesdropper.

345. Not instant but of future time. The respite afforded him fills him with present joy.

347. Joy and tidings. Hendiadys, tidings of joy. Fraught. Freightened or laden.

348. Pontifice. Not *exactly* a bridge. See note on l. 313. Unhoped. Beyond expectation.

349. Offspring. (Plural).

354. Thy magnific deeds, thy trophies ! All the merit belongs to her father ! The design arose after the mysterious transmission of the news of the success attending his embassy. It was the joy felt by herself and her son in this victory, not to speak of its alluring prospect of prey, that nerved them to their task.

358, 359. These lines—which are parenthetical—express the intimate harmony existing between father and daughter.

360. Thy looks. The expression of triumph in thy looks.

361. Evidence, for “bear signs of.” But is connected with no sooner in l. 357.

362. The whole line is a parenthesis. • In spite of the distance between Hell and Earth, “yet” the intelligence travelled safely !

364. Fatal consequence. Fateful inter-relation. Their destinies are interwoven.

366, 367. Nor (could) this unvoyageable gulf obscure detain (us) from following.

368. Our liberty, confined. The liberty of us both, confined as we were.

370. Fortify. Not in the full sense of the word, but merely “build over.”

372. Virtue. Heroism.

373. What (= a new world that) thy hands builded not (and) thy wisdom (has) gained for thee.

Odds. Advantage. The new world is an equivalent for what we have lost in heaven and even more than for what we have lost.

375. Foil. Defeat in battle.

(For) here, etc. We are reminded of Satan's words in bk. i. “Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.”

376. Victor sway. Bear rule as victor.

377. From this new world retiring. It is assumed by the speaker (Sin) that God is now to reign the overlordship of this universe. A presumptuous assumption ! Sin seems to mock at

God for having foolishly imposed commands on Adam or Eve which were destined to be broken, and whose penalty (doom) could not be reversed.

380, 381. The empyreal bounds, his quadrature. The "empyrean" is of course the abode of God and his angels. Quadrature means quadrate, or square. See Revelation xxi. 16. Elsewhere Milton leaves it an open question whether the shape is "square" or "round". Orbicular = spherical. The World or Universe, supposed to be made up of ten concentric spheres.

386. For I glory in the name. Etymologically Satan means adversary, antagonist. This became his name after his fall.

387. This line stands in opposition to "Satan" in the preceding line.

388. Amply have merited of me (and) of all. You have laid under a debt of obligation, not only myself, but all fallen angels.

389. That is a rel. pron., its antecedent "ye" l. 385.

So near Heaven's door, etc. There is here a characteristic conglomeration of thoughts. Satan is delighted at the sight of the bridge, and all the more because of the audacity of the constructors in carrying it up to "near Heaven's door." As a triumphal act, it is quite on a par with his own.

"Have met"—have matched. Hell and the World are now no longer two separate continents, but one whole realm, with easy intercommunication between them.

394. Their respective ways cross, Satan pursuing his journey downward, now rendered so easy; he is in haste to report to his "associates" (whom he speaks of here as "fellows" rather than "followers") what there is to say about the fall of man and about the new bridge. Sin and Death will continue their journey, in the direction they were going, which will take them athwart the various spheres (including that of the fixed stars) till they finally reach the Earth, and enter Paradise, which they are to regard from henceforth as their own dominion.

402. Your thrall etc. Make him your slave while he lives: and after his span of life devour him.

403. (As) my substitutes I send you, and (I) create (you) plenipotent i. e. invest you with full power to act in my name.

405. Issuing from me. Having me as its source. Their authority on earth will equal the source from whence it is derived.

407. To Death exposes. Because death was to be the penalty for disobedience.

408. Affairs. Interests.

410-503. An easy journey brings Satan to the gates of Hell, at this time wide open, and deserted by their warders. He thereupon

makes his way to Pandemonium, assuming the guise of a plebeian angel, in order that his self-disclosure, when it comes, may be the more striking. So he takes his seat on his throne unobserved and unheeded. But on a sudden, he reveals himself to his assembled chiefs in all his wonted state, and receives, as on other occasions, their loudest applause. He addresses them in a boasting spirit, jesting about his easily won victory over man, and also about God's decree concerning the forbidden fruit and the consequence of disobedience. Next he exults over the addition to their domains of a new universe. The price to be paid is merely a bruise on the head—surely nothing compared to the prize to be enjoyed! Having proceeded thus far, he calls on his followers (whom he addresses as Gods) to realize the full extent of their good fortune.

412. As Sin and Death speed on their way after their interview with Satan, their path crosses that of stars and planets, which are there and then stricken with woe.

414. Leaving the baleful pair to pursue their way, the poet proceeds to tell us about Satan's journey across Chaos, and its sequel.

415. Causey. A shortened form of causeway.

416. Disparted. Divided into two by the new highway. Exclaimed. Protested, showed indignation. The manner of showing it is pointed out in the next line, viz., by Chaos dashing its waves against the solid strength of the new construction.

417. Bars. Barriers. We have here a striking example of the "pathetic fallacy," or the ascription of feeling to inanimate nature.

418. The gate (of Hell).

420. Found desolation all around. Those appointed to sit there, Sin and Death, have abandoned their post, and appointed no substitute to act for them in their absence.

423. The inland, the remote regions.

424. Pandemonium. The building is magnificently described in bk. i. The word means "abode of all the demons"—and is formed on the analogy of "Pantheon." Seat. Residence.

425. Lucifer. "Light-bearer," a name of Venus, when she appears as a morning star.

Allusion of. Allusion to. The name came to be ascribed to Satan by a misunderstanding of Isaiah xiv. 12, where the reference is to the king of Babylon, and not, as careless readers thought, to Satan.

426. Paragoned. Compared to.

427. The Grand. The chiefs, a catalogue of whom is given in bk. i. The legions are the rank and file.

428. **Solicitous.** Anxious for the safety of their chief on his perilous mission.

429. **So.** That they should thus sit in council.

431. A pair of similes is here introduced: the one drawn from the wars between Russians and Tartars, the other from the wars between Turks and Persians. Such wars were of constant occurrence in Milton's own century. Milton's knowledge of geography (it will be allowed) is "extensive and peculiar." **Astracan** is a country that lies north of the Caspian Sea; in Milton's time, it was the great battle-field between Russian and Tartar. **Sophi** is said to be derived from the name of a former dynasty of Persian kings, and correspond to the Shah of to-day. **Bactrian**, an epithet applied here to the king of Persia, from the name of one of his richest provinces. The **Crescent**, or horned moon, is the Turkish ensign. **Aladule** is Greater Armenia. **Tauris** and **Casbeen** are important Persian cities.

The point of comparison is the same in either simile, viz., the desertion of vast territories, which at other times are thickly populated, owing to military operations. In the case of Hell, this desertion comes about from the concentration of all the legions round about the metropolis; in the case of Tartary and Persia, it is caused by the flight of the inhabitants before the advancing armies of invaders.

438. **Reduced.** In its literal meaning of "brought back."

442. **In show, etc.** He chooses for stage effect to appear for the present as one of the rank and file. He carefully studies appearances, as all those must do, who bear "semblance of worth, not substance."

444. **Plutonian.** This epithet comes from Pluto, god of the nether world. **Hall.** The outer court or palace.

445. **State.** Regal canopy. Sometimes the word signifies the throne or chair itself.

449. **Fulgent,** gloriously bright. Latin *fulgens*.

450. **Star bright,** a beautiful combination.

452. **False glitter.** "Semblance of worth, not substance."

453. **Stygian.** Hellish. From Styx, the river of Hate.

454. **Bent their aspect,** Looked downward, before a sight too bewildering for their gaze.

457. **Raised from their great divan.** Rising from their seats in the Council chamber. **Divan** is Persian for a senate or council of state.

460. For the significance of these titles, see note on l. 86. They owe their surprising effect in the present passage to the fact

of their being employed by *Satan*. He tries as consistently as circumstances will permit to play the part of the Supreme (with whom he imagines he divides empire) ; and here he falls (one might almost say) as if by chance into the style of address which we know from other parts of *Paradise Lost* to have been commonly employed in Heaven by the Almighty when addressing his superior angels.

(Commentators apparently have not thought it worth their while to draw attention to what is here pointed out, but perhaps they have expected their readers to make the observation for themselves).

461. **Such.** Observe the legal terminology.

462. **Returned** (as you see me).

471. (I have) **voyaged the unreal.** The region of eternal change, flux, and negation is suitably called the *unreal*. It is

A universe of death, which God by curse
Created evil—for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives, &c.

475. **Toiled out my uncouth passage.** We are reminded of bk. ii. 1021 :—

So he with difficulty and labour hard
Moved on, with difficulty and labour he.

“Toil out” is a phrase made on the model of “work out.” **Uncouth**, unknown, unexplored. **Forced to ride** (through). **Untractable.** Impracticable. But a tract *had* been made.

476. **The womb.** The depths. **Unoriginal**=that has no beginning. **Chaos and Night** in this line are the King and Queen of the region in question. The latter is referred to elsewhere as follows ;—

Sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
And consort of his reign.

478. **Jealous of their secrets, etc.** These charges of Satan against the king of Chaos do not agree with the version given in bk. ii, where the interview was of the friendliest.

480. **Fate supreme.** Fate comes from the Lat'n *fatum*, what has been spoken ; an inscrutable power, to which the gods themselves bow.

481. **Fame in Heaven.** Cf. bk. i. 650.

484. By our exile made happy. They had stepped into the place in God's regard, vacated (so to say) by the fallen angels. Jealousy of these “darling sons” was one of the ruling motives of the seduction of mankind.

487. There is no authority for an apple being the fruit in question, and indeed this is the only place where an apple is mentioned in P. L. Satan gives a mocking version of the story, one calculated to bring the Almighty into contempt.

493. He [Man] should have ruled. Mankind were created with dominion over all the earth. (Genesis i. 26). The devils, having dethroned mankind, have now stepped into the place (or think they have stepped into it) which was meant originally for others.

495-503. Satan coming now, in the course of his address, to speak of the curse pronounced upon himself, affects, to treat it with scorn; first, because the worst he has to suffer is the enmity of mankind, and all that *this* can bring upon him is merely the bruising of his head; second, because this punishment, such as it is, has been put off for an indefinite time in the future.

499. When is not set. The time is not definitely fixed.

503. Up. Be up and doing. Bestir yourselves.

504-577. The words are scarcely out of Satan's mouth, when, to his amazement, a universal hiss of mockery assails his ears. All of a sudden, his followers are changed into serpents before his eyes. He has scarcely time to wonder, when he feels the same transformation taking place in himself. Presently the whole of Pandemonium is crawling with reptiles of different species!

This is the Almighty's punishment for their too hasty triumph over what Satan has accomplished in Eden. When most they feel themselves to be their own masters, they find they are all the time in God's power! A further humiliation awaits them. A grove springs up near by, and they are bemocked by the prospect of fair fruit that tempts their appetites, but turns into dust and ashes in their mouths.

506. (On the) contrary.

509. But he had not much time given him for wondering over the transformation of his followers—he himself is similarly transformed.

511. How graphically the change is described! The face is lengthened out, till it ends in a sharp point; the arms cling to the ribs, the legs shrivel up; thus he is reduced to sprawling about on the ground as his only mode of locomotion.

(The skeletons of the larger varieties of snakes have traces of hips, which are furnished with very rudimentary hind legs. Thus the poet's imagination is curiously true to our modern scientific knowledge. The change Milton imagines to take place in a moment is an epitome of a change which evolutionary thought lengthens out to ages and ages of time).

513. Supplanted. Here employed in the literal sense—"tripped up by the heels."

515. Reluctant. Not without a struggle! Satan is now made to feel who is Master, and he has been transmogrified in this

undignified way almost immediately after his speech of mocking defiance.

516. Punished in the shape he sinned (in). Poetical justice, which the New English Dictionary defines for us as "the ideal justice in distribution of rewards and punishments, supposed to befit a poem or other work of imagination."

518. Hiss for hiss. He meant to reprove them with severe words, but could only return hissing for hissing.

520. Accessories. (Satan having gone forth as their delegate).

521. Riot. Insurrection.

523. Complicated. Lit., twined together, entangled.

524. Many varieties of reptiles and kindred species are here indicated, some real and others merely fabulous. The amphibena is a lizard that seems to have a head at each end, head and tail mistakably resembling each other.

Cerestes. Lit., the horned serpent. Hydrus. The water snake; Elops. A species of fish; but in the text, a mythical serpent mentioned by Pliny and others. Dipsas. A serpent whose bite tormented the victim with intolerable thirst.

524-6. The Hall of Pandemonium was more thickly strewn with serpents than two localities, where snakes were once believed to be abundant. (1) Libya, or Africa; ancient poets relate how the drops of blood from Medusa's head, carried through the air by her conqueror Perseus, and falling on the soil of Libya had engendered serpents of all kinds. (2) Ophiusa, one of the Balearic Islands, whose name signifies "abounding in serpents." It is now called Fromentara, from its fertility in corn.

529. Dragon. A fabulous winged serpent. This name for Satan comes from Rev. xii. 9. Whom = The dragon which.

531. Python. A serpent produced from the slime left after Deucalion's flood. This monster was slain by Apollo, near Mount Parnassus, whither it had taken refuge from pursuit. Having slain it, Apollo received the name of Pythius, and instituted the Pythian games in commemoration of the victory.

531. In his changed form Satan is still supreme.

534. All yet left. Those not yet turned into serpents, not having been present in the Council where only the superior angles sat.

536. Sublime. Erect.

539. Horror seizes the rank and file at the revolting sight.

541. Changing (into).

544. Sympathy with their former leaders changes them, too, into creatures of like species.

546. **Exploding hiss.** Explode is used here in its literal meaning "to drive off the stage with hisses." (Explodo is the correlative of *applaud*). (Turned) triumph to shame.

547. **Cast, etc.** Reflecting equal shame on themselves and on Satan, whom they hiss, when they mean to applaud him.

548. **With this their change.** Simultaneously with their transformation. Now a further degradation follows on what has just been related.

550. **To aggravate their penance.** To intensify their sufferings. Penance, because the suffering was penal. Laden is to be taken with grove.

Fruit like that which grew in Paradise. Another example of "poetical justice."

555. **To work, etc.** To be taken with fixed, as the punctuation indicates.

556, 7. **Parched, dry; scalding, burning; delude, mock.**

560. **Megæra.** One of the three Furies, also called Eumenides. They were the daughters of Earth and Night, and their hair (like that of the Gorgons) was entwined with serpents.

561. **Fruitage.** Fruit regarded collectively.

562. **That bituminous lake where Sodom flamed.** The Dead Sea, which covers the site of the city of the Sodom was destroyed by fire from heaven. (Read the fearful description in Genesis xix). Apples of Sodom are referred to by ancient writers as growing on the shores of this lake. They were tempting to the sight, but within they were full of ashes. (*माथान फल*)।

563. **More delusive.** The apples of Sodom were seen to be worthless, even without being tasted; here the fruit appears good and is not discovered to be nauseous, until the victims' mouths are actually filled with soot and cinders.

565. **Gust.** Relish "gusto."

572. **Triumphed, once lapsed.** Triumphed over, after but one slip. Note the antithesis between "oft" and "once."

573. **Hiss** is a verb, if we retain the comma after "Famine:" as in our text. Otherwise a noun.

574. **Permitted.** By divine permission.

575. **(Being) yearly required.**

576. **For a certain number of days every year.** The punishment, says Milton, was recurrent according to some authorities.

577. **To dash their pride.** To punish their premature exultation over man's fall. Dash "Dash to the ground."

579. **Purchase.** Acquisition.

"The poetic meaning of this incident" writes H. Morley, "is the enforcement of the thought that there is no question in the action

of the poem of a power in Satan to control or thwart the will of the Almighty.

581. According to one tradition (not the usually accepted one). Ophion, was a Titan, who, with his wife Eurynome ruled over Olympus, till he was dispossessed by Saturn and Ops, who again were dispossessed by Jove. Milton sees in the name of Ophion's wife, literally "the wide-encroaching one," a possible reference to Eve and her relations with Satan; but the link connecting the two names is of the slenderest; and on this account Bentley was for rejecting the whole passage.

584. Dictæan Jove. Dictæ is a mountain in Crete, the original home of Jupiter. Hence the epithet.

585-658. Sin and Death, crossing Satan's path (as we have seen), arrive only too soon at the end of their journey. Death begins to exult at the near prospect of filling his maw with dainty food, but Sin gives him the advice to begin his ravings upon the less appetizing creatures and to let Man alone for the present, till Man's experience of sin shall render him a far more savoury meal than he would be at his present stage of corruption.

The Almighty in Heaven now addresses the angels, and points out to them the blindness and folly of these furious creatures that have come to earth to commit havoc and rapine, not knowing that they are all the time his ministers, merely carrying out his settled designs.

585. The thread of narrative broken off at l. 409. is now resumed.

586. Milton here falls in with that tendency for analytical thinking which was characteristic of his era. He distinguishes, after the manner of a Puritan divine, three steps in Sin's progress. (1) From the first it was certainly in man's power to fall into sin; therefore Sin may be said to have existed in Paradise before the Fall *potentially*. (2) The potential was changed into the *actual* on the day man yielded to temptation. (3) Now Sin has arrived in *person*—in the shape of a desolating Fury.

Actual = overt. Similarly Seneca says: All vices are in all, but all are not *extant* in all.

588. Habitual (in)habitant. Notice the alliteration and the paronomasia (play on words).

589. Pace for pace. On foot, side by side, keeping equal step. But by and by Death, after entering on his all-conquering career, will become a much more important personage and will assume much greater state, riding upon a pale horse, as we find him doing in *Revolution* (vi. 8).

593. Travail difficult. The work of constructing the bridge is referred to.

(Is our empire) not better far. . .

594. **Sat watch.** To have gone on sitting as we formerly did keeping watch at Hell gate.

599. **There (is the) best (place).** Ravin. Prey.

600. **All too.** Usually regarded as forming a compound adverb *=entirely*. But the "too" is an intensive prefix and strictly belongs to the following word.

601. The word "hide-bound" is applied to an animal whose skin adheres closely to its sides, and is figuratively used in the prose of Milton as also in Carlyle in the sense of obstinate or bigoted. **Unhidebound**—having the skin quite loose; hence, of course having a great capacity for prey. **Corpse.** Applied to a living body, this word is obsolete.

602. **Incestuous.** At once mistress and daughter.

605. **No homely morsels.** Very dainty ones. Litotes.

606. Time is here represented as a reaper, a common figure.

608. **All infect.** Totally deprave. The doctrine of the total depravity of fallen human nature is in the poet's mind.

609. **Season.** In the culinary sense of the word. Death is here counselled to put off his feast till the taint of sin has had time to give a relish to the human food he so longs to enjoy.

610. **Several.** As at l. 323, and again at l. 650.

611. **Unimmortal make.** A very striking expression. Mankind were created for immortality, and not until the commission of the first sin were they liable to death.

614. **Transcendent.** Very lofty. Almost in the later sense of "above human knowledge."

616. **Dogs of Hell.** An expression of contempt like *furies* a few lines below. Cf. Julius Caesar, *Tr.* i. 273,

Cry Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war,—
by which Famine, Sword, and Fire are intended.

620. **Impute, &c.** "Like Satan and the rest of the evil angels, Sin and death cannot see anything but folly in my dealings with mankind."

624. **Conniving.** To connive is "to close one's eyes upon a fault." Now-a-days it is used only in a bad, or at least a familiar sense; but it could once be employed (as here) in a good sense. Literally "to wink or shut the eyes."

626. **Laugh (in mockery).** As if transported, &c. "As if, in a fit of ungovernable passion, I had cast off Man and abandoned to them all this new empire!"

630. **My hell-hounds.** "Though bent only on their own ends, still they are my ministers fulfilling my designs."

633 This is a very striking passage. We are reminded that Milton's poem was intended "to justify the ways of God to man."

The divine service which Sin and Death have to perform is to devour everything that savours of evil and impurity—to separate in this way the evil from the good—till finally all that is evil is concentrated together and can be hurled back by the Son of God's strong arm into the Hell from which it originally sprang, and there to be sealed up for ever.

Cf. with this a noble passage in *Comus* :—

Yea, even that which Mischief meant most harm
Shall in the happy trial prove most glory.
But evil on itself shall back recoil,
And mix no more with goodness, when at last
Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,
It shall be in eternal restless change
Self-fed and self-consumed ; if this fail,
The pillared firmament is rottenness,
And earth's base built on stubble.

Hell is to be (so to say) the sink or cesspool of the universe.

638. Heaven and earth. Our visible universe. Renewed. Made over again, and purified from the curse that has now come upon all things.

639. (Even) to sanctity. This expresses the degree to which the purifying process will be carried. Everything in the renewed universe will be holy and pure.

640. This renewal of all things will not take place till the curse has had time to run its course. Both. Heaven and Earth.

644. Decrees on.* Purposes concerning. No word has a greater savour of 17th century theology than this word decrees to which naturally a long chapter is devoted in Milton's "Treatise on Christian Doctrines"

Extenuate. Disparage, dishonour ; as the evil angels, by their mocking comments, had attempted to do.

645. Next (they sing).

647. To the ages rise. To succeeding ages. Rise i. e. on the ruins of the former, which are to pass away, (See the last chapter of Revelation).

648-712. By command of the Almighty, the annual path of the sun round the sky is diverted from the equator to another path, viz. to our present ecliptic. Thus it will be at one time in the northern, at another time in the southern heavens. This of course is bound to produce on earth great extremes both of heat and of cold. How different from the eternal spring, which has existed up till this time ! The winds from all the twelve

points of the Mariner's compass are now to be let loose to make war upon each other.

The spirit of Discord will produce internecine warfare among the different species of animals, which have hitherto lived at peace among each other.

651. *Sorted best, &c.* Was most suitable for the new *moral* condition of the universe. In what follows Milton borrows hints from Ovid—for certainly the Bible contains none. After Saturn's age of gold was succeeded by the age of silver, Jupiter, who next bore sway, introduced the four seasons. In Paradise there had been only one season, viz. spring. Now will be introduced extremes of hot and cold, and both will be trying to Man.

652. *His precept.* The precept (=decree) given to him.

655. *Decrepit winter.* Like a very old man. Cf. Cowper's description of Winter in the fourth bk. of the *Task*.

656. *Solstitial summer's heat*=midsummer's heat. On the 21st of June, when the sun enters the sign of Cancer, it is farthest from the equator, and its motion for some days is apparently arrested—till the direction of motion is changed. *Solstice* literally means "the standing still" of the sun. *Blanc.* Pale.

662. *Influence malignant.* Hurtful force supposed to be exerted by the stars over human affairs. *Influence* is "something that flows in."

658, 659. *Aspects, in sextile, square and trine and opposite.* "The aspects of the planets (in astrology) were their relative positions in the sky, varying with their respective courses. There are five aspects: (1) *sextile*, when two planets are 60 degrees apart, or the sixth part of the whole circle of the zodiac; (2) *square*, when their apparent distance is 90 degrees, or the fourth part of the zodiac; (3) *trine*, when a third part, or 120 degrees; (4) *opposite*, (or in *opposition*), when they are as far from each other as possible, i. e. 180 degrees; (5) *conjunction*, when seen in the same part of the heavens. To this last aspect Milton alludes in the expression, *Join in synod*. The fourth of these, the aspect of opposition, was said to be of noxious efficacy, as the planets so placed were supposed to strive against each other; and hence it was thought of evil consequence to be born under the influence of the weaker of the two opposite planets. These aspects of the planets were for ages believed to exert on individuals and nations a controlling influence for good or evil; and astrology pretended, from these aspects, to predict the fortunes of men."

661. *The fixed (stars).*

664. *Prove tempestuous.* Be provocative of storms, (as Orion was supposed to be). Commenting on a passage in bk. i. ("When with fierce winds Orion armed hath vexed the Red-Sea coast")

Mr. Beeching points out that storms were connected with the rising of Orion, which happened about midsummer, and also with its setting; and he quotes the following from Spencer, F. Q. iv. ll. 13:—

• Hugs Orion that doth tempests still portend.

664, 665. **Set Their corners.** Appointed their regions. Every wind has its own individuality in the poet's imagination, and they have different quarters of the heavens assigned them as their own.

When to bluster. (Set or appointed) at what times they were to blow strongest.

666. **The thunder when to roll**=when to roll the thunder. As a matter of fact, the winds do *not* roll the thunder; so Keightley takes "to roll" passively, "when the thunder was to roll." The commentator's task, however, is not to save the poet's consistency at all hazards, but to interpret what he says in its most natural sense.

667. **Dark aerial hall.** The welkin. Dr. Bentley suggested four changes in as many lines (667-670) as if to prove that a man can be a great classical scholar and yet have no sense at all for poetry. 'Set' was to be changed to 'gave'; corners to 'orders'; 'the' (l. 666) to 'to'; and 'dark' into 'wide.'

668, 671. In the early days of Paradise, when spring-time was perpetual (see iv. 268) the sun's path coincided with the equator. The problem Milton here deals with is how to account for the change of the sun's path from the equator to the ecliptic, a plane that cuts the plane of the equator obliquely, viz. at an angle of 23½ degrees. Two theories are put forward by Milton to account for the change.

The first of these is based on the Copernican, and the second on the Ptolemaic system of the Heavens. (1) According to the Copernican astronomy, the sun is the centre of its own system, and the earth is its satellite; and naturally the satellite is the one that undergoes the change. The two opposite poles (if this theory be taken) were strongly laid hold of by the mighty spirits, and were turned aside till the inclination of the earth's axis in its journey round the sun was a little over twenty degrees. (2) The other theory, however, is evidently more favoured by the poet, being more consistent with the rest of the poem; and it is to this one (that the earth is the centre and the sun the satellite) that fullest consideration is given.

The sun was bid turn rein. This metaphor from horsemanship contains an allusion to the fable of the sun performing his daily course round the earth, in a chariot drawn by four horses. The annual journey round the sky is minutely described in the text. For one half of the year, the sun is in the northern heavens, and for the other half, in the southern, (in

the former above; in the latter below, the celestial equator). The equinoctial road is the former path of the sun—the celestial equator. “Equinoctial,” because as long as the sun follows this path, day and night are of equal length. Like-distant breadth. Because the deviation of the new path to the north exactly equals the deviation to the south. Three signs of the zodiac in the northern hemisphere are mentioned in their order. Taurus, or the Bull, (containing the famous group of seven stars known as the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas, here called the Atlantic sisters, and which cannot be passed by in silence by any poet); the Spartan Twins (the constellation Gemini, containing Castor and Pollux); the tropic Crab, the most northerly of the northern signs of the zodiac. (The tropics are the small circles situated on either side of the equator, at the distance of $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and therefore mark the most northerly and most southerly points in the sun’s annual path. The epithet tropic would thus apply equally to the Crab, and to Capricorn).

675. Down amain.* Leaving the Crab, the most northerly of the Zodaical constellations, the sun’s course is a downwards first through Leo, the Lion, then Virgo, the Virgin and the Scales. (The Scorpion and the Archer are passed over in silence); but Capricorn is made mention of, corresponding as it does to the Crab.

678. Else &c. The original state of things would have continued unbroken, but for the alterations just described, (1) Those living within the limits of the polar circles would have enjoyed perpetual spring, with days and nights 12 hours each; (2) To those outside these circles, (which lie $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees from either pole) there would have been perpetual day, the sun pursuing its path from left to right along the horizon line, but never dipping below it.

785. Forbid the snow, &c. Two places are referred to; the one (Estoliland) in North America, the other (the narrow straits of Magellan separating the continent of South America from Terra del Fuego) in South America. The snow, he says, could not have lain in these localities with the sun pursuing an equatorial path.

688. Thyestean banquet. “Thyestes was given his own two sons to eat, at a banquet prepared for him by his brother Atreus. Ancient mythologists relate that the sun changed his usual course in order not to be a spectator of so unnatural a sight. *The sun’s horror was equally great at the time of the tasting of the forbidden fruit.*”

689. Else &c. If what the poet alleges is not true i. e. if no such change in the sun’s course was brought about, then it would

*Amain, the sun has just had a brief respite at the period of the solstice. Now on leaving the Crab he pursues his journey with renewed vigour (See note to l. 656 above). I allow that this explanation, which I cannot find corroborated anywhere is possibly too far-fetched.

follow that extremes of heat and cold must have existed in the golden age, just as at the present time. But this contradicts our notions of a golden age. A sort of proof by *reductio ad absurdum*.

693. Siderial blast. Storms produced by the malign influences of the stars.

695. Now from the north. The wars of the winds, 12 of which are mentioned by name. Boreas, and Caecias, and Argestes loud and Thrascias (observe the splendid effect of the long series of sibilants—the poet meant that we should inwardly shudder at the mere sound of his line) are all northern winds (N., N. E., N. W., N. N. W.) and their native homes are in the northerly regions of the globe (Norumbega in Canada, Samœd in Siberia). Notus and Afer are southerly winds (S. and S. W.) and belong to Serrallona, or rather Sierra Leone, a country situated on the west coast of Africa. As these northerly and southerly winds are let loose upon each other, the east and west winds (Eurus and Zephyr, the Levant and Ponent winds, as they are here termed) join the fray, and lastly, to add still more to the confusion, the S.E. and S.W. winds, here named Sirocco and Libecchio.

707. Lifeless things. The 12 winds just mentioned by name.

708. The irrational. The lower animals.

709. Death introduced. Introduced death. Before the fall of man, the animal creation lived in harmony. But the different species now live in enmity, preying on each other to find their food. Formerly we may suppose they were all on terms of amity, both among themselves and towards mankind, but now they pass by Adam with sullen and menacing glare.

714—844. Adam's reflections upon his disobedience the gravity of which came home to him poignantly when he saw the above changes taking place around him.

This long speech (225 lines) contains the following reflections:—
(720.) Of all the changes observable the worst is in himself—for he who formerly delighted himself in God is now constrained to conceal himself from him. (725.) Of this woeful state of things ever ending there seems to be no prospect; for the taint of sin will naturally descend to Adam's posterity. (743.) A mood of self-pity comes over him. Was not he created without any wish of his own? Were not conditions imposed upon him beyond his power to keep,—was all this right on God's part? (752.) The prospect of endless woes which is the only visible outlook for man seems inconsistent with the justice of God. (755.) It is too late to wish the past undone—the conditions proposed by God were accepted by him and by Even; for better, for worse. (769.) The doom then that will consign him to the dust is not unfair,—but why is that doom delayed? (783.) Is it possible that he cannot all die, that the soul will survive the body's dissolution, that

On the other side of death he will have to face the infinite wrath of an infinite God? (805.) This last fear is silenced by the thought that being a finite creature, he is not capable of infinite woe. (817.) He comes back to the thought of the suffering he has brought down on those who are to be born after him, and asks if it is quite impossible for him to bear all their sufferings on his own head? (835.) The next moment, he fears lest such an undivided curse would be a greater punishment than he could bear. (839.) He ends his gloomy reflections with the observation that all this misery is without a parallel—unless he goes for a parallel to Satan himself.

716. *Hid &c.* Among the trees, where Adam had gone from God's presence.

717. *Worse felt within.* The state of his mind was more disordered than that of external nature! Bishop Newton bids us observe the skill of this transition.

719. *Disburden (himself).* Not often used intransitively. He gives forth sorrowful words, thus relieving his feeling of oppression.

720. *Miserable of happy.* *Of* is here "from" indicating the passage from one state of mind to another, as again in l. 723.

722. *The glory of that glory.* Creation's masterpiece.

725. *Yet (this would be) well.*

726, 727. *Would bear my own deservings,* if no one else were concerned—but my whole posterity is involved in the consequences of my sin.

728. *Whatever prolongs my existence* (i. e. the things I eat and drink) will serve to perpetuate the evil I deplore: for the children I beget will hand it down to theirs in their turn.

730. *Increase and multiply.* Genesis i. 28.

733. *Will not those who shall live after me, seeing all the evil around them, curse me as its prime original?*

736. *His thanks.* Ironical of course. Addison thought such expressions too familiar for an epic poem. "Elegance" was his criterion of excellence.

737. *The (above) execration, viz. "Ill fare", &c.*

737-741. For a substantive to mine own we must go back to curses, l. 732; with "all from me" understand *the curses derived*; [Mine own (curses) that bide upon me, all (the curses derived) from me.] And what is the meaning of *redound* with a reflux? Literally it means "flow back with a flow back"! But bodies that redound are surely not of a fluid nature. But he uses *redound* in an improper sense, as equivalent to "light," in l. 740; and these curses, though lighting on him as their centre, will weigh heavy; although according to old notions about physics, they should, strictly speaking, not weigh

anything there, the weight of bodies being their *tendency* to the centre.

Bentley's note is worth quoting, if only for its fine sarcasm. "Adam, it seems, was already a Peripatetic (philosopher) in his notions: he supposes here, that elementary bodies do not gravitate in their natural places, not air in air, not water in water; from which he fetches a pretty lamentation, that contrary to the course of nature, his afflictions will *weigh heavy* on him, though they be in their *proper place*."

743. **My clay.** There are two accounts of man's creation in Genesis,—one of a very lofty character, to the effect that "God created man in his own image"; the other is less sublime, to the effect, that man was taken out of the ground, i. e. formed of clay. The word Adam means "red earth."

747. **My being.** My creation.

748. **Equal.** Just. Reduce. Bring back.

749. **Desirous** (as I now am).

750. **Unable to perform.** Seeing I have proved myself unequal to the observance of, &c. "The language of English law."

754. **Inexplicable to Adam.** What appeared inexplicable to him appeared actually *ludicrous* to the fallen angels. (l. 488.)

757. **Those terms whatever.** Any terms whatsoever (?)

758. **Thou didst accept them.** He here addresses himself, evidencing the troubled state of his mind.

759. **Cavil (at).** Raise captious objections against.

762. **Issaiah xlv. 10;**

764. **The election.** Thy initiative, so to say.

766. **Of choice.** According to the pleasure of his own will.

Of his own. With his own (property). Adam was of course God's absolute property.

767. **The reward.** The reward of obedience.

770. **Genesis iii. 19.**

771. **Whenever** (it arrives).

773. **This day.** Does the poet forget that it is now the second day (according to l. 342, where we read of Satan eavesdropping *by night*?) **Overlive** (this day).

774, 775. **Lengthened out to deathless pain.** After the curse of "death" has been passed against me, why must I be preserved to suffer endlessly?

777, 776. **Meet mortality.** Return to the dust, and cease to exist.

778. **My mother's lap.** The lap of earth. There should I rest, &c. This passage contains echoes of the third chapter of Job.

782. Expectation. Anticipation.

783. Lest all I cannot die. Lest there be no death for the soul, but only for the body.

784. Breath of life. God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul." Genesis ii. 7.

788. A living death. A life worse than death. Cf. the words of Sophocles, "When a man is lost to joy, I count him not to live, but reckon him a living corpse."

789. Yet why? He now looks at the question from the other side working up to the conclusion, all of me then shall die. From the Treatise on Christian Doctrine, Chap. xiii. it appears that the view of the matter now to be expressed was Milton's own. Cf.

"Inasmuch as the whole man is uniformly said to consist of body, spirit, and soul (whatever may be the distinct provinces severally assigned to these divisions), I will show, that in death, first, the whole man, and secondly, each component part suffers privation of life." And again: "No reason can be assigned, why, if God has sentenced to death the whole man that sinned, the spirit, which is the principal part offending, should be alone exempt from the appointed punishment."

793. Human reach. The reach of human thought.

795. Not so. Not infinite.

799. Strange contradiction. "Can he make death to be deathless? i. e. prolong death for ever? Milton in discussing God's omnipotence says: "But it must be observed that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction."

800. Is held. Is taught in the schools. Does not Milton forget that there were no schoolmen before Adam, to whom appeal could be made in matters of logic! Argument, Prodi.

803, 804. To satisfy his rigour (= revenge) satisfied never. For satisfy we would now say "gratify"; for satisfied, we would say "satiated."

805. Beyond dust. After man's body has returned to the dust. (Beyond) Nature's law. In violation of Nature's law. The particular law referred to is now to be explained.

806. By which all causes else...act. The law, namely, in obedience to whose principle every other agency in nature is observed to operate.

According still sphere. "In proportion to the susceptibility of the matter on which they act, and not according to the extent of their own power." This was an axiom of the old theologians. The passage seems to mean that Adam's punishment for his fault, however heinous that fault might be in itself, must be limited by

the finiteness of his capacity to suffer. Sphere (of operation) i.e. their power.

810. Bereaving sense. Robbing me of my senses or sensations.

812. The same antithesis that we saw in ll. 715 and 717.

813. To perpetuity. The sentence is suddenly broken off, as in the figure known as "aposiopesis"—a Greek word meaning "becoming suddenly silent." Masson inserts a dash after perpetuity—an improvement on the ordinary text.

814. Revolution. Return.

816. Am. Are. Incorporate both. United in one body. (Perhaps with reference to Romans vii. 24: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?")

817. Nor I on my part single. Nor do I stand alone in this matter.

818. Fair patrimony. Ironical. It is in reality a *debt* that he must bequeath.

820. Waste it. Exhaust or dissipate all the capital, and thus have nothing to leave—bear all the punishment on my own head.

824. If guiltless? Masson changes the question mark into an exclamation. Keightley substitutes a semicolon. "But is this assumption of mine right," he seems to ask himself, "that my posterity will be born free from the stain of my fault?" In his answer, Adam anticipates the famous doctrine of original sin, viz., that our first parents being the root of all mankind, the guilt of their sin was imputed to all their posterity. Pascal says: "It is an astonishing thing that the mystery most removed from our knowledge (that of the transmission of sin) should be a thing without which we can have no knowledge of ourselves."

826. The same with me. As corruptly as himself.

827. Acquitted. Not involved in my fault.

828. All disputes. All reasonings with myself.

829. Forced I absolve. I am forced on reflexion to admit the ineptitude of my charges against God.

833. Lights. Alights (and rests).

834. So might the wrath. (God's indignation against sin). The pious wish of l. 820 over again.

835, 836. The earth...the world. The latter includes the whole universe.

837, 838. What thou desirest...what thou fearest. (1) To shield posterity. (2) To bear the whole weight of the curse.

840. Past example. Even the misery of the fallen angels is not so great!

841. Both (in) crime and (in) doom.

842. Conscience. Sense of guilt. In this comparison of himself to Satan, Adam is of course most unjust to himself. The depth of his penitence for what he has done, and his concern for the welfare of those who will live after him, are noble traits and win our admiration and sympathy. His now is surely the "godly sorrow that worketh repentance not to be repented of." With this great speech of Adam, might we not profitably contrast Satan's famous speech on returning to consciousness after his nine days' stupor?

To bow and sue for grace
With suppliant knee, and deify his power
Who from the terror of this arm so late
Doubted his empire, that were low indeed,
That were an ignominy and shame beneath
This downfall.

845-946. Adam continues his lamentations through the unwholesome night. He chides death for being a slow executioner. Eve approaches seeking to comfort him, but is repelled with bitter taunts. He charges her with being the cause of all his woe, and says her outward beauty is a mask for inward falsity. He regrets there ever was a female sex. Looking forward to future times, he predicts some of the woes that man is to suffer at the hands of woman. But as he turns away from her, she falls down at his feet and implores his sympathy in her distress, which she says is greater than his, as she has most sin upon his conscience. She begs him to stand by her that he and she may present a united front against the common foe their deceiver. She proposes to go back to the place of judgment and there beg from God that he will visit all the punishment upon herself. These appeals, added to her loveliness in distress, soften Adam's heart, his anger is disarmed, and he proceeds to comfort her.

853, 855. Death in these lines is spoken of as an executioner. Cf. the dying Hamlet "This fell *sergeant*, death, is strict in his arrest."

861. Other echo. Cf. the morning hymn bk. v. 153.

864. Desolate. Under a desolating sense of sorrow.

865. Essayed. Attempted (to apply). The common reading is *assayed*. O. F. *asaie*. Mod F. *essay*er.

869, 870. Wants. Is wanting. Thy shape...and colour. Another shape and another colour.

872. Pretended...falsehood. Stretched out, or hung before as a cloak to conceal falseness. "Thy form may be lovely, but thy substance is false."

875. Wandering vanity. See ix. 214. "Let us divide our labours," said Eve on the fateful morning. To this proposal Adam sounded a warning (but his consort would not listen to it):—

"Leave not the faithful side
That gave thee being, still shades thee, and protects."

878 Him overweening to overreach. Over-confident in your power to have the better of him in your interview with him.

880. * I (fooled and beguiled) by thee (in allowing thee to wander by thyself).

881... Imagined (by me to be) wise, &c. Imagined agrees with "thee."

884. A rib. "And God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of the ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. Genesis ii. 21, 22.

886. The part sinister. "The left-hand side;" proverbially, unlucky. From the crookedness of the bone, and from its having come out of his left side, Adam infers Eve's moral obliquity. (Milton obviously uses Adam here as his own mouthpiece).

891.. Fair defect. Oxymoron.

898. Strait conjunction. Intimate union. Cf. "A strait degree of favour." Sir P. Sidney.

899. Four cases of unhappiness are supposed:—

(1) The man never comes across a true mate.

(2) He finds her, but she refuses him.

(3) She is willing, but her parents forbid her to marry him.

(4) He *does* find her, but finds her too late; for either (a) he is already a married woman or (b) she is a wedded wife. (The poet under (4) does not give us these two alternatives; but he expresses himself so ambiguously that the words may bear either sense).

916. Unweeting. Cf. above l. 335.

919. (Of ~~that~~) whereon I live. She cannot live unless he is kind to her.

924, 925. Both joining...one enmity. Presenting a united front against a common foe.

926. Express (ly) assigned (to) us. She refers to the words, "He shall bruise thy heel." l. 381.

932 (I) will return. To where the sentences were pronounced.

940. Soon his heart relented. Commentators find in this touching passage a personal reminiscence, viz. to the scene that took place when Milton's first wife, after her desertion, came and threw herself at his feet, and was taken back to his home.

947-1104. Adam, now reconciled to Eve, says she little realizes what she proposes in offering to take the whole punishment on

herself; besides, God's decree having once gone forth, such appeals as she proposes will change nothing. He agrees with her that they ought to have no more wranglings, rather should each by mutual offices of love endeavour to render the other's lot easier. Knowing that Adam is much concerned for the fate of his posterity, Eve makes two proposals; either (1) that they shall always remain childless, or (2) that they shall seek immediate death, even if they employ their own hands in their self-destruction. To this Adam replies by pointing out both the folly and the impossibility of self-destruction, adding that they must keep in mind the promise that the seed of the woman shall crush the serpent's head. To destroy themselves would be to forego their promised revenge, and by an act which would bring two-fold punishment on their heads. Recalling the gracious spirit of him who came down from above to judge and sentence them, he confidently affirms that by prayerfully seeking his help, they will receive the aid they need to protect them from the various ills that are now in front of them, some of which (after all) will be blessings in disguise.

So they humbly and penitently make their way to the place where God had formerly appeared to them, and there they raise their hearts to him in prayer.

947. As before. Adam refers to Eve's precipitate haste to eat the forbidden fruit.

950. Thine own (share of it.)

951. Whose. Either (1) of which; or (2) Whose (wrath).

956. (That) thy frailty and infirmer sex (might be) forgiven. In Milton there is too much reiteration of this sentiment.

957. By me exposed. Because he permitted her, on the fatal morning, to wander from his side.

960. Offices. Here the word means "duties" but at l. 1002 office=function.

962. Since. Seeing that. If ought I see." If I understand the matter aright.

964. A long day's dying. i. e. Co-extensive with the span of life itself.

969. Found so erroneous (or). She refers to what she said in offering him the fatal fruit.

976. Extremes. Calamities.

977. Or end (of our extremities).

978. As in our evils. A Latin idiom, meaning, "considering the extent of our evils."

979. Our descent. Those who are to come after us.

983. (Yea, to) our own begotten. Those begotten by us. A further definition of the others of the preceding line.

987, 988. **Prevent...unbegot.** It may be questioned whether Keightley is right (or Verity who takes the same view) in explaining "prevent" as "anticipate or forestall," and not rather in the sense of "intercept," "hinder from coming to the birth." To being yet unbegot = yet unbegot to being.

990. **Deceived his glut.** Pregnant construction. Death will be (1) disappointed in his hopes and (2) deprived of his prey.

His glut. The plenty in store for him.

998. **Less than none.** Not less than any.

1000. **Make short (work).** Cf. the German. *Kurz machen.*

1002. **He not found.** Absolute construction. **Supply...his office** = be the instruments of our own death.

1004. **No end.** No issue.

And have the power &c. *Seeing* we have the power to destroy destruction with destruction = prevent the ruin of those not yet born by suicide.

1005. This whole line is parenthetical. "Choosing the most expeditious way of making an end of ourselves."

1009. **Pale.** Pallor. Adj. used as a noun.

1012. **Labouring,** By much mental effort.

1014. **More sublime.** The sublimity of mind you manifest in this contempt you show for life argues that life is *not* the shallow mockery your words make it.

1024. **Forestalled.** Frustrated.

1025. **So snatched.** Obtained in this underhand way.

1028. **To make death in us live.** The "deathless death of l. 798.

1036. **Which will be lost** And this revenge will not be ours to "enjoy," if we do as you say.

1038. **Resolved** (on).

1041. (Let) no more (then) be mentioned.

1045. **Reluctance against** = opposition to.

1052. **Soon** (to be) recompensed.

1053, 4. **Aslope glanced.** Like a missile that rebounds from an object which it strikes obliquely. "The ground received the heaviest share of the curse pronounced on me."

1068. **Shroud.** Shelter.

1069. **Diurnal star.** The sun, which in Lycidas is called the "day-star."

1071. **Foment** = foster, cherish with heat. **Sere** = dry. K. says the expression "gathered beams" can only refer to a concave mirror.

1072. Grind the air attrite. "He seems to suppose that in the collision of two bodies, as two flints, or a flint and a steel, it is the air that yields the fire." K.

1075. Tine=kindle Slant=thwart.

1078. Supply (the office of) the sun.

1079. Remedy or cure. Tautology.

1081. Of grace. For grace.

1091. Frequenting (the air). Filling with sound. Sent belongs, to sighs.

1098. The repetition of the next six lines is in the manner of Homer and other ancient epic poets. Observe that besides rounding off the bk., these reiterated lines are restful to the ear, and mark an important turning-point in the story.

BOOK XI.

The objection to *Paradise Lost* that it is "on another plain to our ordinary experience," that the "supernatural is insufficiently humanised" applies less to the closing books than to those that precede them. The primitive state in *Paradise* was transcendental. Milton surrounded the first human pair with the glory and the mystery Wordsworth ascribes to the child fresh from the hand of God, before the "vision splendid" has faded "into the light of common day." But since the introduction of warring winds and inclement seasons, Adam and Eve have become quite recognisable persons. Our heart begins to warm to them, as it never could have done to the unapproachable creatures of the fourth bk. There was nobility in Adam's partaking of the forbidden fruit from the motive ascribed to his act in bk. ix. viz. compassion for his mate : and at the close of bk. x, Eve herself rises to heroism, when she proposes to bear all the penalty of the crime, she being chiefly responsible.

In their penitential prayers there was no ulterior object ; they entreated to be restored to God's favour, not that their sentences should be revoked. It was right that having sinned they should find sin a bitter thing ; but that they should henceforth and for ever lose God's good will and favour—this was no part of the judgment pronounced on their fault. The curse was pronounced on the ground and on the serpent, not on the man or the woman.

But that they are fallen and degraded creatures is indubitable. Milton in the opening paragraphs of bk. xi. insists that their repentance and desire for amendment does not arise of their own will, but is the fruit of the divine grace that has been sown in their hearts by the Holy Spirit. That Michael is the angel sent to carry out the expulsion is significant. The sociable and friendly Raphael is of too mild a nature for such stern work.

The series of revelation that now begins is partly a device of the poet to extend the outlook and scope of the epic into the distant future just as it has already glanced back into the past.

The following are the natural divisions :—

(1) 1—132. The Almighty convokes a synod (the third since the beginning of bk. x.) and announces that there is need for Man's removal from the garden. Michael is entrusted with the execution of this stern command.

(2) 133—356. The announcement of banishment takes Adam and Eve completely by surprise, falling on them as a great blow. But Michael shows that Adam's worst fear (315 seq.) is groundless.

(3) 356—end. A series of visions, introduced by the spectacle of one half (the inhabited half) of the globe. The visions are as follows:—

- (a) Cain slays Abel.
 - (b) Death shows itself to Adam in many loathsome forms.
 - (c) The sons of God ally themselves with the daughters of men.
 - (d) Violence and bloodshed—the days of the giants who have sprung from these alliances.
 - (e) The wickedness of man brings a flood of waters on the earth.
-

1—44. As Adam and Eve are praying, grace descends upon them, and their breathings are borne aloft to Heaven. Here they are presented by the Son, who intercedes for them, putting into articulate words their longings for which they had found no articulate utterance. The burden of the prayers is that they may live the rest of their term of life in a state of reconciliation—not of enmity—with their Maker.

1. **Plight.** Condition exciting pity. **Stood** probably means 'continued' or 'remained'; for we know, from the closing lines of bk. x, that they were not on their feet, but prostrate on the ground. Lander remarks that both in Italian and in Spanish the word for 'stand' is used thus.

2. **Mercy-seat.** The Hebrew word means "coverin." It was the golden lid or cover of the ark of the covenant, in front of which were performed the highest rights known to the religion of the Jews. Here figuratively for the throne of grace in heaven.

3. **Prevenient.** Taking the initiative, or the first step. Milton insists, in true puritan fashion, that man is powerless to repent and seek renovation by the mere promptings of his own nature, without the gift of repentance which comes down from above. The same idea is insisted on again in l. 23, where implanted grace is made mention of; and in l. 26, which refers to the seed sown with contrition in his heart as the real cause of repentance.

4. This antithesis between stony hearts and hearts of flesh is taken from the prophet Ezekiel (xi. 19). It is the contrast between the proud, stubborn and self-willed nature and the nature that is sensitive and responsive to the will of God.

5. **Regenerate.** Spiritually renovated. Sighs now breathed unutterable. Breathed here is transitive. These sighs are the outward expression of desires that cannot be articulately uttered. A passage in Romans (viii. 26) is in the poet's mind, describing the highest forms of prayer as consisting in "groanings that cannot be uttered."

6. Which the Spirit of prayer inspired. Here we are in the realm of mysticism—that state of soul in which man's personality is absorbed and lost in God. In one aspect prayer is a man's own utterance; in another aspect, it is not, for it is the utterance of the indwelling and inspiring Spirit.

7. Winged for Heaven. Prayers of this class naturally fly upward.

8. Loudest oratory. Loudness and ostentation in acts of religion are suggestive of hypocrisy, rather than true piety.*

• Their port, etc. Their *bearing* is not abject, although their hearts are humble. "Lowliness majestic," the fine expression applied to Eve in viii. 42, might be applied here to them both.

Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha. Classical writers refer to a flood of waters sent on the earth (like that of Noah) to punish the wickedness of the primitive world. Deucalion and Pyrrha were saved (like Noah and his family) by means of a vessel in which they took refuge. Finding themselves after the flood to be the sole survivors of the human race, they consulted the oracle of Themis (goddess of justice) as to the best means of re-peopleing the world. They were instructed to take the bones of their mother and cast them behind their backs, by which the oracle meant the stones beneath their feet. These they threw behind them and those cast by Deucalion became men, and by Pyrrha women.

8-14. The sentence is a little involved. The order is:—"Yet their port (was) not (that) of mean suitors, nor seemed their petition less important than (those offered up) when the ancient pair... stood devoutly, &c.

15. Envious winds. Not blown away by hostile winds. Masson sees here a reference to those "Indulgences, dispensations, pardons, bulls"—that were the "sport of idle winds" in bk. iii., where the poet describes the "Paradise of Fools."

17. Dimensionless. *Because there was nothing *material* about them.

18, 19. Clad with incense. This is scriptural imagery. In the book of Revelation (viii. 4, 5) we read of prayers ascending to heaven mixed with the smoke of incense. The priest here is the great intercessor, the Son of God. He offers the prayers to God, and intercedes on behalf of man.

Note. It may be useful to bring into a single focus the several points here touched upon. (1) The mood of Adam and Eve is penitential. (2) Their hearts have been softened by prevenient grace. (3) They utter only inarticulate breathings. (4) The Spirit inspires these breathings, turning them into prayers that fly aloft. (5) Silent utterances like these avail more than audible prayers. (6) The

*In prayer, says Bunyan, it is better that there should be a heart without words than words without a heart.

suppliants lose no dignity in their prostrate and lowly attitude. (7) The prayers are presented by the great Intercessor. (8) Who intercedes with God for man.

22. **First-fruits.** Earliest effects, (i. e. the sighs of contrition).

23. **Implanted grace.** A figure borrowed from husbandry, like seed in l. 26.

Sighs and prayers=sighs which are prayers, in apposition to first-fruits. **Heudiadys.**

25. **I thy priest.** Milton in his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, has a chapter on the three offices of Christ, (viz. prophet, priest and king). The sacerdotal office is that through which he makes intercession for mankind. The imagery of the censer is from the bk. of Revelation (viii. 3 and 4).

26. **Fruits viz., the sings of repentance.**

26, 27. **Seed sown.** Repentance having come from above is a divine bestowal.

28. **Manuring=spending labour on.** He was put into the garden "to dress it and to keep it." But better than the fruits of husbandry are the first sighs that rise from the heart, proving that a "regenerating work" (l. 5) has begun.

31. **Hear...mute,** Possible because "desire is prayer."

32, 33. Let me his advocate etc., interpret for him, unskilful [inexpert] himself in clothing his feelings in words.

33. **Advocate and propitiation.** Different aspects of the priestly office.

35. **Ingraft.** Another metaphor from husbandry. Christ, as man's substitute, takes upon himself man's works, both good and bad. For these latter, his death is to pay the penalty. (Refer back to note on x. 61.)

37. **In me, &c.** Receive in my person as coming from these...

38. **Smell.** Cf. "And God smelled a sweet savour." Genesis viii. 2.

40. **Numbered.** Man has lost the gift of immortality with which he had originally been endowed. The penalty here is not annulled but only made milder.

Death, his doom. Doom is of course in apposition to death.

42. **To better life shall yield him.** Death will do this by opening the gates to a higher and fuller existence.

44. **Made one.** This is the consummation referred to in John 17, 21, viz. the final restoration of complete harmony between God and man.

45-133. The father grants all the petitions that are offered on man's behalf through the Son, but declares that man may no longer

dwell in Paradise, and that his way to higher existence is now through death. The angelic synod is summoned by trumpet; they are informed of the Almighty's decree; Michael is commissioned to carry the sentence into execution, but in doing so to use all mildness, and open Adam's eyes to see future events in vision. A cohort of cherubim descends along with him each one having four faces.

45. Without cloud. See bk. x. 32. The Son dwells within the cloud, and sees the Father face to face.

47. All thy request...decree. Thy asking has not exceeded my unchangeable purposes.

49. Him forbids. Demands his expulsion.

50. There is now a want of correspondence between man and his original environment. It is not simply that God has pronounced a hard decree. The impure *cannot* consort with the pure.

53. Gross, to air as gross (as himself). Sin has rendered Adam gross or polluted, and his true element will be the mists and impure exhalations of earth. For Milton's description of the "purer air" of Paradise see iv. 153.

54. Dispose him best: Render him meetest for dissolution, since die he must. Death would be harder to bear in a place like Eden, with so much to resign, than in a world, with less that makes life worth living.

56. Of incorrupt corrupted. Of=[•]from the state of.

58. Endowed with two fair gifts etc. That refers to happiness, this other to immortality. The latter, in the absence of the former, is no longer a thing to be desired.

60. Served...till. Immortality would be to him but a perpetuation of woe, till I released him by death.

62, 64. Life...second life. Observe three stages in man's existence viz. (1) the present life, a term for refinement and preparation for the future; (2) the state of death, which lasts till "the last trump" (presently to be referred to); a state resembling sleep; (3) the new existence that will be ushered in by a double event, man's resurrection and the renewing of heaven and earth.

Resigns him (up). As a gaoler does with his charge, the grave being a kind of prison. This passage is rendered difficult by (1) unusual uses of words, (2) involved constructions, (3) inversions and (4) change of construction.

The sentence might thus be paraphrased:—"I created him at first possessed of two fair gifts, viz., happiness and immortality; having thrown away the first, the second would serve but as a punishment, till such time as death should providentially come to claim him. It thus appears that death is actually his friend,

his final friend ; but no ! *not* his final friend, for those whose lives on earth render them worthy of such a destiny are to awake to a new existence—a second life—and are to experience a renewal such as is to transform both the Heavens and the Earth. These events, referred to already in x. 638, will be still more fully unfolded in xii. 547.

67. **Synod.** In x. 611 this word is applied to a conjunction of planets ; here to an assembly of angels.

69. I (am now to) **proceed.**

70. **As how, &c.** “As lately I took the Blest into my confidence regarding the fate of the peccant (=sinful) angels ; so now I will unfold to them my purposes as regards mankind.” The passage referred to is at iii. 80, explaining the difference of treatment meted out to those who “by their own suggestion fell” and those “deceived by the other [Satan] first.”

73. **Minister that watched.** Sentinel on duty. The whole conception of Heaven is that of a military establishment.

74. **Perhaps...perhaps.** “Perhaps the same trumpet that was heard afterwards at the giving of the law, and to be heard once more at the last day.”

The passages of scripture here referred to (Exodus xix. 18 and Thessalonians iv. 16) mention trumpet blasts as preparatory to proclamations of the most solemn import. But in the text it is merely the signal for a synod.

75. **Oreb or Horeb** is the range of mountains of which Sinai is the lower part. It was here the law was promulgated to the children of Israel, and where—

Israel made them gods of gold,
Although the trumpet blew so loud.

76. **General doom.** The judgment of mankind in general (as distinguished from the saints) which will take place at the end of the world. See Nativity Ode, stanza 17.

77. **All the Regions.** Region means the welkin or sky. The plural may refer to the “successive sections into which the atmosphere is divided,” N. E. D.

From their blissful etc. We have here a glimpse into Heaven, the abode of the blest. **Bowers of Amaranthine shade.** Shady bowers of amaranth, (the name of a flower formerly regarded as a symbol of immortality).

81. **Resorting to the summons.** Gathering to the place of summons.

84. **O sons, &c.** The speech that follows closely paraphrases Genesis iii. 22-24.

86. **Defended fruit.** Forbidden fruit. Of the common expression, God defend. Let him boast, &c. One might have thought

the boasting stage was long past, if there was such a stage at all in their experience. The present mood of contrition will last no longer, says the divine speaker, than the workings of grace in their hearts; so the precautions to be taken are by no means unnecessary.

91. **My motions in him.** These moods come from my implanted grace, and would pass off, as soon as I ceased to work in him. **Longer than they move**=Beyond the limit of their working. **Self-left.** Perhaps the "pelagian controversy" is in the poet's mind as he yet again insists on man's "inability" (glanced at so often already, ll. 3, 23 and 28.)

94. **Reach...of.** Reach after, or towards.

Eat...dream. The subject is "he" implied in his.

98. **Fitter soil (to till).** The gross air (l. 53) will likewise be fitter for him to breathe.

99. **Michael,** by whose sword Satan's host were driven out of Heaven, has figured prominently in bk. vi., where Raphael told Adam the story of the war in Heaven.

102. **Thy choice.** Here used passively in the sense of "things or persons chosen." **Fiend** (literally enemy) here refers to the author of evil.

103. **Or in behalf.....or.** Either (1) acting in collusion with man or (2) to extend the bounds of own empire. The demons had imagined the new world already theirs—and their presumption was punished by their being turned into serpents.

106. **Denounce.** "To make known in a solemn or official manner." The Latin sense of the word.

108. **Faint.** Lose all hope.

111. **Excess.** This word, though milder than "transgression" contains the same idea viz. "a going beyond" "an overstepping of bounds." • **All terror hide.** Use mildness.

115. **As I thee shall enlighten.** As I shall first unfold to thee.

116. **Intermix.** Make reference to here and there. This is just what he does. See list of passages mentioned in the footnote p. xxxvii.

116. **My covenant.** The solemn promise that the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent, a foregleam of the Incarnation.

119. **Climbs.** The pathetic fallacy, suggesting too the sense that "the intruder would here find easiest entrance."

120. **Of a sword the flame**=a flaming sword. A bold example of synecdoche.

121. **Guard'all passage.** Hinder all possibility of approach.

122. **Lest Paradise, &c.** It was with such hopes in view that the causeway was built. "History repeats itself" and therefore a more successful trial might be made on the part of the repulsed.

133-207. A new day now dawns on Earth. Adam and Eve, after pouring forth sighs and prayers to Heaven, rise up with new strength. Joy succeeds to grief. Adam expresses his wonder at the efficacy of prayer. Eve proposes, seeing a new day has dawned, that they should renew their customary tasks. But just then a change comes over the face of Nature, the sky is shrouded in gloom, as when the sun is eclipsed. But just as the east is darkened, a glorious light appears away in the west.

126. **Power.** See x. 460.

128. **Cherubim.** Plural of cherub. These are described in Ezekiel (x. 12) as full of eyes, and every one having four faces.

129. **Janus** is a Latin divinity, represented with two faces. These faces, looking back into the past and forward into the future, were symbolical of wisdom.

130. **Spangled with eyes.** "Full of eyes round about."

131. **Argus** was a monster with a hundred eyes. He was slain by Mercury=Hermes, who lulled him to sleep by playing on his flute, (or opiate rod): then he severed the head from the body.

135. **Leucothea.** In *Comus* (l. 874) we read of "Leucothea's lovely hands." There she is identified with the Greek maiden Ino, who was transformed into a sea nymph; but in the present passage Milton has in his mind the Roman goddess Matuta, goddess of the Dawn, with whom Leucothea was sometimes identified.

137. **Orisons.** Prayers. An old French word.

Found. This verb has three objects, (1) strength, received in answer to prayer; (2) hope, a rebound from despair; and (3) joy, fearful of offending again.

140. **Which (joy).**

His welcome words renewed. Brought back his power of speech (which Eve was pleased to hear). But Keightley explains the line differently, viz. "which feelings of hope and joy his words renewed in, or brought back to, the mind of Eve."

142. **Descends...ascends.** A striking antithesis. That gifts might come down from above to gratify dwellers on earth is not remarkable, but that anything [prayers or offerings] ascending from *them* can be pleasing to God is more difficult to understand. Adam has proved by experience the efficacy of prayer, and now wonders at the mysterious power by which the heart of God has been touched. Adam has begun to learn that

The whole round world is every way.
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

144. **Prevalent.** Prevailing, efficacious.

146. **Yet this (effect) will prayer (have).**

147. **Or one short sigh of human breath.** This (Adam thinks) is a better description of his utterances than the formal word "prayer."

148—151. **Since I sought.....methought I saw.** There is a change of construction. We would expect the sentence to run on 'methinks I have seen.'

155. **His promise (also returned).**

156. **Then** viz. at the time the promise was given (bk. x. 179).

Not minded. Disregarded. There were so many other thoughts then in their minds.

157. **Bitterness of death.** The expression is taken from Samuel xv. 32, but there is no reference to its context. Death is here the penal sentence pronounced on the first sin, now more tolerable than it seemed at first.

161. **And all things live for man.** Man is, as it were, the centre of creation, giving everything else its meaning. (Man the statue, Nature the pedestal.)

Ill worthy (am) I (that).

164. **For thee ordained, &c.** Ordained or appointed to be a helpmeet for thee. "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helpmeet for him." Genesis ii. 18.

166. **Rather (than such a title, viz. "Mother of all Mankind").**

168. (Seeing) that I...**am** graced...i. e. have the honour conferred on me of being.

169. **Source of life,** because she is to be "the mother of all living."

169. **Next favourable thou,** i. e. only less favourable than my Judge.

170. The order is. "Who vouchsafest thus highly to entitle (or style) me." Vouchsafest=deignest.

172. **Imposed as a task** which will bring the sweat to the brow. This, it will be remembered, was part of sin's penalty.

173. **Sleepless night.** Spent at first in restlessness and despair; then in sighs and prayers (bk. x 846).

175. Observe how the poet marks Time's advance. The dawn, (compared to a white goddess), was mentioned at ll. 135; here now we have "rosy-fingered" morning. **Progress.** In the sense of a stately journey, just as we speak of a "royal progress."

176. Never from thyside. Cf. bk. x. 956, "Thy frailty by me exposed." Eve's separating herself from her husband was the beginning of the misfortunes of the fatal day whose events are described in bk. ix.

178. Laborious. Because now "with sweat imposed." "Till day droop. Till the sun sets."

180. Fate means here the divine decree.

182. Subscribed not. Did not assent. Milton's commentators have pointed out the absurdity of such a word as this in such a connection.

182. Gave signs, omens of the disaster in store, viz. the expulsion. The omens here mentioned were perhaps suggested by Virgil.

"These omens have a singular beauty here, as they show the change that is going to be made in the condition of Adam and Eve; and nothing could be invented more apposite and proper for this purpose. An eagle pursuing two beautiful birds, and a lion chasing a fine hart and hind; and both to the eastern gate of Paradise; as Adam and Eve were to be driven out by the Angel at that gate." Newton.

184. Nigh in her sight. Near to where Eve was standing.

185. The bird of Jove. The eagle was sacred to Jupiter.

Tour. Johnson's explanation, that this means "tower" is preferable to Hume's, who says it means "wheel or circuit."

Stooping a term in falconry, "when a hawk being upon her wings at the height of her pitch, bendeth violently down to strike the prey."

187. First hunter then. This seems hardly consistent with a former statement, "Beast now with beast began war." (x 710). Brace. pair, used of animals that consort together. "c

191. Adam (in his turn) observed.

192. Mute signs. The pair of birds, and the hart and hind typify the human pair (says Masson); but what is typified by the lion and the Eagle?

195. Which...purpose is parenthetic. Forerunners...or (scent) to warn. There is here no real antithesis. The omens are sent either (1) to indicate some further changes to be expected, or (2) because they are too confident about their tenure of their pleasant garden.

198, 199. How long (this our present reprieve will last) who knows? Or (who knows) more than this. viz. &c. (Milton forgets that there were no other human beings at this time.)

200. Thither must return. See x. 206.

202. **Flight.** Flying creatures.

203. **One way,** viz. eastwards. The place of exit was in this direction and the entrance was to the west.

205. **Orient. Bright.** But there is a play on the other sense of the word, "eastern."

205.6. **Western cloud that draws...**a radiant white. The cloudy apparition, as it draws nearer, becomes brighter and presently, when it discloses itself, turns out to be no cloud at all but a band of celestials.

208-254. The band of cherubim is likened to those companies of angels that were wont to appear to holy men of Israel in later times. Adam seeing their chief approaching in his direction, announces to Eve that some important tidings will now be disclosed to him, and requests her to retire behind the scenes. Michael, retaining all his majesty (though assuming the human form) makes the announcement that Adam and Eve may no longer live in the happy Garden. Each expresses bitter regret at having to take leave of such fair scenes. Adam declares that what gives him most concern is to think of the loss of God's fellowship he will sustain after he has begun to associate particular spots in Paradise with visits from his Divine Friend. But he is assured that God's presence is not limited to one place, and can be as readily enjoyed down in the nether world as amid the beautiful haunts they are now called on to abandon.

208. **By this.** While Adam was speaking to Eve. **Jasper.** A hard opaque stone, presenting a variety of colours. A Jasper sky would be a dull, discoloured one. The sun was in eclipse.

211. Adam was afraid of these celestial visitors—the sight was a fearful, rather than a splendid one to his eyes.

214. **Mahanaim.** The word means "two hosts," hence the reference to the field pavilioned in the next line. "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he said, 'This is God's host:' and he called the name of that place Mahanaim." Genesis xxxii. 1,2.

215. **Pavilioned.** Covered with tents.

216. **Flaming mount.** Learning that Elisha was at Dothan, the Syrian king sent an army to destroy him. Elisha's servant was afraid at the sight of the hostile army. But on the prophet's prayer the man's eyes were opened, and he beheld to his astonishment that the mountain was full of horses and chariots round about Elisha.

219. **Assassin-like.** Because he despatched a host against one individual, and had sent no formal declaration of war. **Assassin** first means "an eater of hashish," then one who murdered by stealth.

220. **Hierarch.** The most general name for one of the higher orders of angels. These, it will be remembered, are classified in three Hierarchies, according to the following scheme :—(1) Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones ; (2) Dominations, Virtues and Powers ; (3) Principalities, Archangels and Angels.

221. **Stand. Station.** A place where one stands and waits.

226, 227. **Tidings...Determine...impose.** Tidings is employed in a strained sense, mere tidings cannot do what is here stated. Adam from the severe expression of the angel gathers what is about to happen, either (1) that he and Eve are now to meet their end ; or (2) that some new unwelcome laws are to be imposed upon them. Determine is used in the sense of "make an end of."

229. **Veils.** Throws into the shade.

230. **Gait.** Manner of going. Celestials were supposed to glide rather than to walk.

231. **None of the meanest.** Litotes.

231, 232. **Some great Potentate or of the Thrones.** Strictly speaking, the former were in the first, and the latter in the second Hierarchy ; but Milton recognises no hard and fast division between the classes.

232. **Such majesty, &c.** He comes in such majesty. Invests, lit. clothes, here it means "surrounds or attends."

240. **Lucid. Bright. Arms. Armour. Meliboean.** Meliboea was in Thessaly. Near it was found a species of shell-fish that furnished an excellent dye. **Grain of Sarra.** Grain means a dye. Sarra is the Syrian name for Tyre, so famous among the ancients for its purple dyes.

244. **Iris has dipped the woof.** This means the vest was as bright and as variegated as the rainbow. Iric was the goddess of the rainbow.

245. **His starry helm unbuckled** (a participial clause)=in consequence of his helmet being laid aside.

246. **Where youth ended.** These words are redundant : when youth ends manhood of course begins. **Prime of manhood.** Beginning of manhood.

247. **As in a glistening zodiac.** It has been well asked, "Who but Milton would have thought of comparing Michael's sword-belt to the sun's apparent circle in the heavens, marked by the twelve constellations of the zodiac ?"

248. **Satan's dire dread.** His encounter with Michael is one of the great passages in bk. vi. (See 296 seq.) Michael's sword on meeting Satan's severed it at a blow, and entered deep into the rebel's side—"Then Satan first knew pain."

251. He has come not to exchange courtesies, but to carry out his orders.

253. Then...when. The line is parenthetical. The redundant use of *then* is frequent and lends clearness and emphasis to the thought.

254. Defeated of his seizure. Disappointed of his prey.

256. "And wherein thou mayest atone for one bad act [the eating of the fruit] by many good ones."

257. Then, i. e. after these good acts.

258. Death's rapacious claim. (*rapacious* is a transferred epithet). "For the soul that sinneth it shall die." Redeem because Death is spoken of as a person, having a legal right over the sinner.

260. (Thy Lord) permits not.

261-2. These lines are an echo of ll. 97, 8 above.

264. Chilling gripe.....bound. His vitals were suddenly contracted by the pain of the announcement.

265. Eve, who unseen. See l. 237.

267. Discovered. Betrayed.

270. Native. For she had always lived in this beautiful place.

272. The respite of that day. This refers to the length of the reprieve from death. Mortal. Death bringing. My early visitation. Which I visited every morning. The custody of the flowering plants was in Eve's hands.

277. Gave them names. A very pleasing fancy* of the poets! To Adam (it will be remembered) had been assigned the task of giving names to the *animals*—"and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof." Eve has a corresponding task given her by the poet, that of naming the *flowers*. For her great fondness for "her nursery,"—as it is called—see viii. 46 seq.

278. Rank your tribes. Arrange in their orders the different species. Eve (or Milton) anticipates Linnaeus!

279. Ambrosial fount. Perfumed water (?) A conceit of the same kind as "painting the lily" and "throwing a perfume on the violet."

282. Whither.....into.....to. "To what place will my footsteps take me in that lower, unknown world, compared to this one obscure (=dark) and wild?"

285. It has been suggested that the sentence ought to end at pure, and that what follows was broken off by the angel's interruption mild. Edmonston prints it so, but has not been followed by later editors.

* I am surprised that no writer—so far at least as I know—has made any allusion to it.

289. **Over-fond.** Foolishly covetous.
290. "You will not be unaccompanied."
292. **Where...there.** Cf. l. 253.
293. **Cold sudden damp.** Damp=dejection. Cf. 26f.
294. **His scattered spirit returned.** An absolute clause.
- 296, 297. **Thrones.** See l. 231. **Of them the highest.** Does this refer to Seraphim? **Such of shape.** Of such a shape.
298. **Prince above princes.** As high above princes, as princes are above common men.
299. **In telling wound, &c.** Pain us in its delivery; undo us in its execution.
300. **What besides, &c.** The very utmost woe our natures are capable of enduring has been laid upon us by this sentence.
303. **Departure.** In apposition to tidings. The semicolon after eyes makes it clear that the next clause stands by itself. (But the original edition has a comma).
- The passage has much natural pathos. Not only is Eden beautiful, but its haunts have by this time grown familiar. In losing their garden, they will lose a part of their personality. "I am a part of all that I have seen."
307. **Nor...nor.** "Neither knowing us, nor known by us." A touching instance of the "pathetic fallacy." Thoughts of the unknown world waiting them below fill them with all the terrors experienced by a child about to go into the dark.
309. **Can,** in the obsolete sense of "to be able to do"—a use now confined to poetry.
313. **Choking the breather,** as his own breath is flung back in his face.
314. **Bidding.** Command, (etymologically only a "request.") Cf. Ariel's words:—"To thy strong bidding task Ariel and all his quality."
316. The words are borrowed from Genesis iv. 14 **As**=so to say.
317. **Here...frequent...worship.** "Could I continue to dwell in this place, I might go on worshipping at the various places where God has hitherto been wont to appear to me."
323. **Grateful altars.** Transferred epithet.
325. **Stone of lustre.** The pebbles in the brooks of Eden are all gems! A conceit like what we observed at l. 279.
326. Milton has in mind such passages as Genesis xii. 6, xxxv. 7.
328. **Nether** (=lower) is the correlative of "upper."

330. Fled him angry. Fled from him in his anger, viz. among the thickest trees. (x. 104).

330, 331. Recalled (as from death) to life prolonged and restored to hope by promised race. Zeugma. Two reasons are given by Adam why he would never again flee from God viz. (1) the sentence of death has been delayed, (2) a gracious promise has been given with reference to the woman's seed.

332. Though but. If nothing else, at least.

333. (From) afar off. Cf. Exodus xxxiii. 22.

334. Regard. Look.

335, 336. After Earth and after only supply "to be his." Rock. The word seems to mean the whole of Paradise. It is the elevation of Eden that is in the speaker's mind. Omnipresence. The "omni—" in this word is redundant.

337. Kind. Species. Cf. "mankind."

338. Fomented. Cherished, fostered.

340. Surmise. Suppose without certain knowledge.

342. Had been. i. e., if Eden had remained in thy possession.

343. Spread (over the earth).

345. Celebrate. Do honour to, as to a king on his birthday. In the case supposed Adam would be still living, for death has come into the world with sin. Milton seems to overlook this.

348. Even ground. This is the nether world, l. 328.

350. Is. Exists. Alike. As much there as here.

351. "And his face (will) express many a sign of his presence, still following thee, still compassing thee round." The wording of this passage is rather "troubled." The sense seems to be "God will continually be with you, and the manifestation of his face will occasionally bear witness of the fact."

354. And of his steps the track divine. i. e. and the divine track of his presence. This is something else that his face will sometimes indicate to them even in that unknown nether world.

356-411. Leaving Eve asleep below, Adam follows his celestial guide to the summit of the highest hill in Paradise. From here a great panorama is stretched at his feet, including no less than one half of the round Earth. He is permitted to see famous countries and their capitals, Asiatic, African, European and American, as they will exist in distant times. This, the first of a series of visions is,—so to say—Adam's first lesson in geography.*

* In other parts of the poem we have had what might be called 'constellations' of proper names. Here we come across a galaxy of them.

358. **Good with bad.** The history that follows is largely made up of a conflict between these opposing principles.

359. **Supernal.** Supernatural. **Contending.** This is the struggle that goes on between evil and good, darkness and light.

361. **Temper.** Moderate.

362. **Inured.** Disciplined till habituated.

366. **Mortal passage** Death (regarded as a journey from the known to the unknown.)

Ascent this hill. An imaginary mountain is meant—hence the expression below. In the **visions of God.** We are reminded of the Mount of the Temptation soon to be referred to.

367. **Drenched.** “Steeped in moisture.” The eyes were anointed with juice having soporific properties.

368. **To foresight wakest.** The angel contrasts Adam’s condition of mental activity with Eve’s. All Adam’s faculties are now to be alert.

369. **As thou once.** When the rib (from which Eve was formed) was taken from his side. Genesis ii. 21.

371. **Safe guide.** Either (1) nominative of address, or (2) in apposition to “thee.”

372. **Hand** (=justice or severity) is an example of metonymy.

373. **To the evil turn**=I invite Heaven’s chastisement.

374. **Obvious breast.** He means to face “breast forward” whatever has to be endured. **Obvious**=“coming right in the way of something.” Arming either (1) myself or (2) itself.

375. **Earn** (or win) **rest from labour won** (or earned).

377. See note on l. 366. It was “in the visions of God,” that Ezekiel “was brought upon a very high mountain.” Ezek. ix. 2.

379. **The hemisphere of earth, i.e. one-half the globe.**

In clearest ken. (There is here a mixture of two idioms, (1) in the clearest light; (2) to the farthest ken.)

380. **(Lay) stretched out to the amplest reach of prospect—** Extended as far as the eye could see. (Surely less than the poet means).

381. **Wider looking round**—having a larger prospect.

382. **For different cause.** Adam to be instructed, Jesus to be tempted.

384. **Our second Adam.** Christ being (as it were) the second head of the race. 1 Corinthians xv. 22.

387. **Seat.** Capital.

388. **Destined.** Not yet in existence, but seen in prophetic vision.

385-411. We here have a sort of epitome of universal geography. It is hardly necessary to remind the student (1) that strict accuracy is not to be looked for, and (2) that the map of the world has changed considerably since Milton's day. All poets have loved proper names, if only for their melodious sounds and far away associations.

388. Cambalu.....Cathayan Can. Cathay is here supposed to be a province of Tartary, the capital of which is Cambalu. But it is commoner to regard Cathay as the same as China, whose capital (here spelt Paquin) is Pekin. Can=khan.

389. Temir is the famous Tamerlane of history. The city by the Oxus was once his capital.

390. Paquin of Sinaean kings. Pekin is the residence of the emperors of China. The Chinese are called "Sinae" in ancient books, hence the adjective Sinaean.

392 Golden Chersonese. The peninsula of Malacca is called golden because it is often identified with the Ophir of Scripture. The word "chersonesos" is Greek and means "land-island," i.e. a peninsula.

393, 394. Ecbatan or Ecbatana, was the ancient capital of Persia; Hispahan or Isfahan is the modern.

395. Bizance (or Byzantium), is the original name of Constantinople. The Turks sprang originally from Turkestan, hence the Sultan is said to be Turchestan-born.

397. The empire of Negus "was too conspicuous to escape notice." Ken=desory. The emperor of Abyssinia was styled Negus=king.

398. Ercoco was once the utmost port, or most northerly seaport of Abyssinia. Now Arkeeko.

Less maritime i. e., inferior to the Negus of Abyssinia, in rank, and—like him—having their territories along the sea-coast.

400. To the realm, &c. Congo and Angola are not to the south of Sofala, as the poet seems to say, but on the west coast of the continent.

403. The kingdoms, &c. "Almanzor's dominions extended over the north-west, and a great part of the north coast of Africa. Morocco and Fez are on the Atlantic; Algiers, Susa and Tremisen on the Mediterranean coast. The language of the poet would lead us to suppose that all these places lay between the Niger and Mount Atlas, whereas they are to the north of this range." K.

409. Yet unspoiled, &c. Not yet discovered by the Spaniards, who are here called Geryon's sons, from a three-headed monster of that name, who is said to have been king of Spain in the heroic age.

411. El Dorado. A supposed city of gold in the interior of Guiana. It is described in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, 1596.

411-477. There now follows a series of panoramic views, representing striking scenes from the early history of the race. The scales that had formed upon Adam's eyes in consequence of the Fall are removed that he may see more clearly. The first vision shows him his future sons, Cain and Abel, each presenting the fruits of their labours as sacrifice to God. Afterwards, Abel's offering having been accepted and his own rejected, Cain, being stirred with envy, rises against his brother and slays him.

This is Adam's first sight of death, and it fills him with melancholy musings.

411. To nobler sights. "That he might be fitted to see nobler sights."

412. The film. Symbolic of spiritual blindness. The Serpent had promised our first parents that the tasting of the forbidden fruit would open their eyes—but it has had the very opposite effect!

414. Euphrasy and rue. Otherwise known as eye-bright and herb of grace. Both were commonly used in affections of the eyes, at one time perhaps by the poet himself.

416. Well of life. A fancy of the poet's. We may suppose some fountain of this name in the neighbourhood of the Tree of Life. (See bk. iii. 357 for its celestial analogue).

418. Inmost seat, etc. The eye of the soul.

420. Entranced. Put into a trance, made insensible to surrounding objects.

424. Hath wrought, &c. Shall bring about, in some of thy descendants.

426. Excepted tree. The expression is exact. "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but..."

Nor with the Snake conspired. The words are severe—almost unjustly so.

427, 428. Derive corruption. Cf. bk. x. 728.

All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated curse.

429. A field. The two brothers have their lands adjacent. Cain's part of the ground is under cultivation; Abel's is pasture land, he being a keeper of sheep.

430. Arable and tilth. Both words mean "fit for the plough." Tilth is an unusual word for "tillage ground."

432. The altar was evidently their common property.

433. Rustic. Rudely constructed. Sord. Sward, soft grass.

434 Tillage. Tilled field. An abstract word here used in a concrete sense.

435. First-fruits. Understand fruit not in the *special* sense, but as applying to any kind of agricultural produce. Such first-fruits were offered to Jehovah at the annual "feast of harvest," as we read in Exodus xiii. 16.

436. Observe how by a few casual strokes the poet conjures up the figure of the first murderer. Cain has obviously no conception of the solemn act he is about to perform. He comes to the hallowed spot straight from his work in the field, with his body reeking with perspiration, not having thought it was worth his while to bathe or change his clothing. Moreover, he lays down on the altar the first armful that had come within his reach. This apparently he had torn up by the roots—not cut with the sickle; and some of it is ripe, some still in the green state. Could there be a better type of what the scriptures call a "profane person"?

Unculled. Not selected, chosen at random.

437. More meek. It would be unwarrantable to infer that there was meekness in Cain. Firstlings. Young lambs. These were choicest and best. In the degenerate days of Israel the prophets charged the people with sacrificing only their worthless animals. "And if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor: will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person?" Malachi i. 8.

439. The inwards and the fat. A common expression in Leviticus. Inwards is perhaps a euphemism.

440. All due rites, one excepted—he does not apply fire to the offering.

441. Propitious fire. This showed conclusively that "the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering." Genesis iv. 4. That fire fell from heaven and consumed Abel's offering is not stated in Genesis, but was a suggestion taken from rabbinical writers. (i.e. Jewish commentators on the scriptures). Cf. 1 Kings, xviii. 38.

442. Nimble glance. Sudden flash, as of lightning. Milton elsewhere writes "swift as the lightning glance."

443. Not sincere. We see here that the mere gift is of secondary consideration and that what is of chief account is the spirit of the giver. "It would be strange if the gods looked to gifts and sacrifices, and not to the soul" is a remark of Plato (quoted in Dods's Commentary).

445. I. e. "With looks deadly pale, and his person streaming with blood, he groaned away his last moments."

451. **To** is redundant.
452. "Is this how God rewards the righteous?"
453. **He also moved.** Nominative absolute.
454. (One day), **to come.**
456. **For envy, &c.** "From feelings of envy towards Abel because," &c.
457. **Bloody fact.** Murder. *Factum* (in Latin)=crime.
458. **Approved** (in the sight of Heaven).
461. **The deed and...the cause** =the *crime* and the *motive*.
462. **Death.** What it is to die.
465. **Horrid** (merely) to think (about). **Feel.** Experience or taste.
469. **Grim cave.** Death is personified as a monster or dragon, dwelling in a dark cavern. **Grim** (=of forbidding appearance) is generally applied to persons rather than (as here) to things.
470. **More terrible at the entrance.** This opinion is also maintained by Bacon, in his Essay on Death.
474. **Monstrous crew.** Assemblage of monstrosities.
- 477-555. The second vision is more terrible even than a brother's murder. A great hospital is shown to Adam whose inmates are afflicted with all sorts of contagious and incurable diseases. Adam is told that all this suffering has come into the world solely as the result of his first sin. Adam remarks that instant death would be better than so much slow agony. He is told how death's terrors may be mitigated by leading a life of temperance.
478. **Noisome**=insalubrious, noxious to life. The word is connected with "annoying."
479. **Lazar-house.** "House for lepers"; but by extension applicable to any hospital for incurable and contagious diseases.
480. **All diseased.** All here has the force of an adverb, "altogether," i.e. in every part of their body. (But according to K. the meaning is: "Persons having all kinds of diseases.")
481. **A spasm** is an involuntary contraction of the muscles. **Qualms.** A qualm is very much the same thing as an **agony**—a sudden attack of pain. **Feverous kinds**=varieties of fever.
433. **Epilepsies.** Epilepsy (or the falling sickness) is attended with loss of consciousness, and convulsive motions of the muscles. **Catarrhs.** This ailment is attended with inflammation of the mucus membrane, and gives rise to violent coughing.
- 485, 486. Three varieties of madness are here enumerated;

(1) delirium ; (2) melancholia ; (3) lunacy (supposed to have some connection with the moon). **Atrophy.** A disease causing emaciation of the body. (**Pining**=causing to pine).

487. **Marasmus.** A kind of consumption. These last three lines are wanting in the first edition. They were added to the second, which appeared in 1674.*

487. **Rheums.** Inflammations attended with swellings, giving rise to exquisite pain of the joints=rheumatism.

489. Observe in this and the following lines the recurrence of the letter "d." **Despair** is a poor attendant upon sick persons, and can do little to parry the strokes with which **Death** threatens these chosen victims. By delaying his blows, **Death** only keeps his victims in a state of agonized suspense, and delights to witness the torture that he inflicts.

494. **Deform.** Presenting the spectacle of deformity. **Heart of rock.** Unfeeling person.

496. **Not of woman born.** 'Though Adam never had a mother.' Verity quotes the following (from Shakespeare):

And *all the mother* came into my eyes
And gave me up to tears.

Quelled. Tamed or subdued.

497. **His best of man.** The stronger side of his nature, (but perhaps *not* the manlier of the better).

499. **Plaint.** Complaint, viz. that death, the effect of the curse, should be so hideous and terror-striking.

500. **To what fall.** To what a depth of misery.

502. **Better end here unborn.** Adam remembers Eve's suggestions near the end of bk. x (l. 982.)

503. **Thus* wrested from us.** Wrung out of our bodies by a painful process of suffering.

504. **Obtruded on us.** So Adam had felt as he exclaimed—

Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me man?" x. 743.

*One is tempted to make some remarks about these lines that were added to a catalogue of loathsome diseases long enough already in all conscience! Why should the poet, in the last year of his life, have opened, so to say, an *additional ward or two* in his home for incurables? It points to something morbid about his mind, to a strain in him that is kept well in the background in his poetical writings, but constantly obtruded before our eyes in his pamphlets.

The student who will consult the first drafts of P. L. referred to in the Introduction p. xxi⁷, those skeletons of a drama which the poet contemplated writing as early as 1640, will find some of these gaunt and ghostly figures already floating before the poet's mind. They are described as "Mutes" which the angel (not yet named as Michael) was to present to Adam and Eve after their fall!

505. What we receive (along with the gift of life).

507. Thus. As exhibited in the second vision.

509. Though faulty since. Adam admits a flaw in his nature, but cannot find therein a sufficient cause for the sufferings that have made his tears to flow.

512. Retaining still divine similitude. Originally made in God's image, he has not lost all traces of his divine origin. "There are some remnants of the divine image left in man." Christian Doctrine, Chap. iv.

514. And for=if only in consideration of.

516. Forsook them. This refers to the victims of disease in the second vision. Themselves is the object of vilified.

517. To serve. In serving. Gerundial infinitive.

518. His image whom they served. That viz. of their new master Appetite. A brutish vice, because it is one that human nature shares with the lower creation.

519. Inductive mainly to, &c. Forming the principal inducement to. As we saw in bk. x (l. 16.) the sin involved in eating the forbidden fruit was "manifold". Here we are informed that appetite preponderated. This is plainly stated in the lines describing the process of Eve's fall:—

"Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and waked
An eager appetite, raised by the smell
So savoury of that fruit which, with desire
Inclinable now grown to touch and taste,
Solicited her longing eye," (ix. 740).

521. Their own (likeness). Their original nature.

523, 524. Pervert...to=pervert Nature's rules and suffer sickness in consequence. (Pregnant construction). This is a reminiscence of the familiar aphorism; *Corruptio optimi pessima*. (The corruption of the best becomes the worst). Worthily. Deservedly.

526. I yield it just. "I yield the point, and allow the justice of God's ways."

528. Painful passages. Cf. l. 366 and note.

529. Connatural=of the same nature as ourselves. For a different meaning see bk. x. 201.

531. Not too much. This is equivalent to the *Ne quid nimis* of Terence. This maxim occurs in other forms among classical writers. Horace e.g. has *Aurea mediocritas*, the golden mean. Ovid has *Medio tutissimus ibis*, you will advance most swiftly in the middle. The saying is capable of many shades of interpretation, and may be used to condone half-heartedness or cowardice. Its application here is strictly limited to moderation in the use of

food and drink, a virtue well exemplified in Milton's own practice. It is in a sonnet on Milton that Wordsworth speaks of "plain living and high thinking."

Temperance. "The virtue that prescribes bounds to the desire of bodily gratification is called **temperance**. Under temperance are comprehended sobriety and chastity, modesty and decency." Christian Doctrine, ii. 9.

536. **Mother's lap.** The earth.

537. **For death mature goes along with gathered.**

538. **This is old age.** A painful death is compared to the forcible wresting of the fruit from a tree, and a painless to the falling of the fruit in obedience to nature's laws.

540 **Withered, weak, and gray.** Even length of days is not without its disadvantages. It means outgrowing youth and "what to youth belong," till finally senility, is reached "sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything"—though the present picture is hardly carried to this extreme length.

542. **To what thou hast=**compared to what you now enjoy.

Damp of cold and dry. It is difficult for us not to associate damp with *moisture*, but there is no such suggestion here. "Thick vapour" is the image in the poet's mind. **Damp** means here any noxious gas. It is the word used to describe destructive gases that collect in mines. The atmosphere of age is a *melancholy damp*, not worthy the name of air.

546. **Balm** is an aromatic exudation from certain plants. **Blam of life** is whatever makes life pleasant to us.

549. **Charge.** Responsibility.

551. **Rendering up.** This conveys perhaps two ideas, (1) resigning and (2) giving in one's account.

554. **Not love thy life, &c.** These lines are singled out by Matthew Arnold to illustrate what he means by "the noble and profound application of ideas to life." "The question *how to live*, is itself a moral idea; and it is the question which most interests every man, and with which, in some way or other, he is perpetually occupied." *Essay on Wordsworth*.

556-637. * Acting on a few meagre hints from some of the earlier chapters of *Genesis*, Milton at this point gives us a most graphic account of primitive society just before the time of the Flood.

* A fine companion picture to this of Milton ought perhaps to be mentioned here, *The marriage of Tiram and Ahirad*. Macaulay's poem like this section fills up the interval of time between Cain's days and the Flood. There is one striking difference between the two. In Milton's picture the life is primitive, the dwellings of men are tents. But Macaulay presupposes immense progress in the gentler arts of life not unaccompanied with godlessness and vice.

We have now reached the seventh generation from Adam (in the direct line from Cain) represented in scripture by Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-cain* (the three sons of Lamech).

Into this picture are worked four of five scenes, complete in themselves yet inter-related and forming a unity when considered together. The whole bears some resemblance to one of those straggling pictures without any definite boundary line, which we sometimes see by way of frontispiece in old books. † As the various scenes in such pictures often represent different elevations—mountain above and plain below—the parallel is all the closer with the picture before us.

On a spacious plain, close to a mountain-side, three families have pitched their tents. The first are herdsmen, the second musicians, the third workers in metal. Presently these are joined by a company of men of a much higher human type, who may be seen descending thither from the higher regions. Next there emerge from the tents a company of gaily attired women, who sing and dance and otherwise disport themselves before the strangers. The men, at first shy, are soon captivated by the women's fascinating ways, and many courtships begin which terminate in Hymen's rites.

With such scenes of mirth and amity Adam is well pleased. This vision seems at last to make amends for the horrors that have preceded it. But the angel Michael warns Adam not to judge these things by his senses, for this third vision too is a deplorable one—it is the spectacle of good men seduced to evil by female snares. It is in truth the first act of a tragedy only to end in the catastrophe of the Flood that will one day consume all flesh from off the face of the earth.

557. By some. The sons of Jabal, "the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle." Genesis iv. 20.

558. Others (there were). Whence the sound, &c.

"And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." Genesis iv. 21.

560. (Namely), of harp and organ. And (the persons) who moved.

561. Volant. Flying over the keps. Latin *Volans*.

562. Instinct—"impelled or urged powerfully." *Instinctus* in Latin means "animated or inspired," and suggests such a sense as

* Surely there must be some sufficient reason why these names are omitted—for Milton of all poets has the least objection to proper names! Perhaps their absence gives the picture a more idyllic atmosphere than if it were formally identified with a definite period of history.

† Though it is principally in old-fashioned books that one comes across these interesting vignettes, yet it is pleasing to observe that (by the action of the inevitable "law of revival") their day is coming in again. •

this, which exactly suits the present context. K. however (followed by V.) explains it as—"instinctively"—depriving the word of all its nervous force.

Proportions—harmonies, a technical term in music.

563. Transverse. Across the strings or keys of his instrument **Fugue.** "A musical composition, in which, a subject being proposed by one part, is taken up, repeated, and imitated by the other parts in succession." **Resonant** therefore means not merely *resounding*, but also *repeated*.

564. At the forge. This is the tribe of Tubal-cain "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."

565. Clods. Masses, or lumps. Poetic licence alone can justify the application of the word to metals.

566. A conflagration (such as a prairie on fire) appears to be in the speaker's mind.

568. Down to the veins of earth. These are fissures in the ground. The conflagration on the surface has heated and melted the metals that there lay concealed.

569. Washed by stream. *Loosened* by the action of water. K. quotes a passage from Lucretius, which was evidently in Milton's thoughts, about man's first discovery of metals.

573. Fusil. Latin *fusilis*=molten, formed of melted metal. (In reading Milton, a Latin dictionary is as indispensable as an English one).

After these, viz., the Men of the Plains.

574. On the hither side. Nearer Paradise (?)

576. Down to the plain. Their descent from higher regions has an obviously symbolical meaning.

577. Jusmen. There are the posterity of Seth, born after the death of Abel, when Adam was 130 years old. Seth was the ancestor of Noah.

578, 579. His works not hid, i. e. such of them as could be known. The Jewish historian Josephus informs us that the Sethites cultivated the sciences of physics and astronomy.

579. Nor those things lost. *Litotes.* The arts tending to man's higher civilization are not reckoned by them as those of least importance.

581. The tents (of the Cainites).

582. A bevy. Originally a company that assembled for drinking wine (Ital. *bevere* to drink). Afterwards it meant any gay company, and especially an assembly of gay women.

585. Though grave. These men have been strictly brought up in the knowledge and fear of God.

587. His liking=the object of his liking. (Objective genitive). "They took them wives of all which they chose." Genesis vi. 2.

Harbinger. Forerunner.

591. Hymen. This was the god of marriage in *heathen* mythology! In uniting themselves with these godless women, the sons of Seth renounce their purer religion, and soon they become conformed to a lower type of living.

593. Interview. The meeting of the different pairs.

594. Not lost. Made the most of. We are reminded of the sentiment in Herrick's song, "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may."

595. Symphonies. Harmonious blending of sounds, here the blending of male and female voices.

Attached the heart, etc. Won Adam's hearty approval.

597. The bent. The propensity.

600. (It) portends. Foreshadows.

602. "Here is surely just the picture of what human life was intended to be."

604. To nature seeming meet='seeming to be' in accordance with nature.

605. Pleasure (he means) is not the chief end of existence.

606. Conformity divine. Conformity to God's image—to be "perfect, even as our father which is in heaven is perfect."

608. Of wickedness=of wicked men. The expression seems to be borrowed from Psalm lxxx. 10.

610. Arts, such e.g. as music. Inventions. Instruments of iron and brass.

611, 612. Though his Spirit taught them. Their knowledge of the arts is here supposed to be derived from the Spirit of God. Many passages could be quoted from the Bible in support of this idea.

612. None=not one of them. The position of none at the end of the sentence is emphatic.

614. The order is: For thou sawest, &c. Michael appeals to the testimony of Adam's eyes. But K. says thou sawest="whom thou sawest," seeing in the unfinished sentence an example of anacoluthon. I think the former interpretation (supported by Newton) is to be preferred.

616. Empty of all (the) good, etc.

618. Bred...completed. These passive participles agree with troop in l. 609. Completed. Filled with accomplishments.

619. Appetence. Desire or appetite.

620. Troll the tongue. "Talk fluently." Troll means "to move volubly."

621. The sober race of men. Milton's hint was taken from Genesis vi. 72. "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply upon the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose."

It is a pure assumption that the sons of God are the descendants of Seth; a more usual interpretation (elsewhere favoured by Milton himself) is that *angels* are intended.

621-622. Whose lives religious titled them, &c. Whose religious lives entitled them to the designation sons of God.

664. Trains. Wiles or artifices.

625. Swim in joy. Hyperbole. K. quotes Spenser:

"Yet swimming in that sea of blissful joy."

626. Erelong to swim at large. The reference is of course to the Flood. To match such bitter jesting as this, we should have to go to the Clown in King Lear.

628. Of (his) short joy bereft. Adam's delight was referred to at l. 596.

630. Entered so fair. The metaphor of a race is in the poet's mind. Cf. "Ye did run well; who did hinder you?" Galatians v. 7.

632. Tenor. From Latin *teneré*=to hold. "The holding on in a continuous course."

633 From woman to begin. Another obtrusion of Milton's bitterness against the sex. But worse than this is the pun that has been here detected between man's woe and woman. It is pitiful to think of the greatest scholar of his time countenancing the popular old *etymology* that derived woman from "woe to man."

634. Effeminate slackness. Weakness to resist women's artifices.

635. Better hold his place. What Milton thought this place should be was explained in *Ek. x.* (145—151).

631-711. * The fourth vision takes us farther down the stream of history and to a more advanced stage of civilization. We now see great cities, with their gates and towers, and heavily armed warriors. From the alliances between the sons of God and the daughters of the Cainites has arisen a race of giants; and these fill the earth everywhere with bloodshed and violence.

In one direction, we have a band of robbers carrying off the cattle from a pasture field; in another, a bloody tournament is

fought ; in a third, a strong city is being besieged and a parley is called for. In the midst of these proceedings, a man of venerable mien comes forward and speaks words of wisdom and peace. All bemoan him, and ever offer him violence ; when suddenly he is snatched up to heaven in a cloud. The sight of so much violence brings tears to Adam's eyes. Michael unfolds the meaning of it all.

637. **Wide territory.** The canvas here is even wider than in the third vision. This is a passage of somewhat similar nature to Homer's description of the figures upon Achilles' shield in the eighteenth bk. of the *Iliad*.

642. **Giants.** Milton's authority is Genesis iv. 4. "There were giants on the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bear children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown." **Bold emprise**=daring. **Emprise** here indicates the qualities that lead a man to undertake difficult exploits.

645. **Mustering Gathering in array.**

647. **Beeves.** Plural of beef, which once meant the living animal but now only the carcase.

648. **Fat. Fertile.**

649. **Over the plain.** These words go with **drives**.

650. **Scarce with life the shepherds fly.** The keepers just escape with their lives.

652. **Cruel tournament.** Another scene of violence. The combatants encounter each other, not in sport but with hostile intent.

654. **Ensanguined.** Blood-stained.

655. **Encampt.** To be taken with others. 'These others pitch their tents in front of the city.

Battery, &c. Three means of assault ; (1) the battering ram, (2) the ladder (such is the meaning of **scale**), (3) mines or tunnels to effect an entrance underground.

660. **Sceptred heralds.** Officers whose business it was to make proclamations among the people. The sceptre was their sign of office and assured their safety.

664. **Factionous opposition.** The hostile parties cannot come to an agreement.

665. **Of middle age.** Evidently Enoch is meant. His age was 365 years, about half the term of life attained by the antediluvians. "And Enoch walked with God ; and he was not for God took him." Genesis v. 24.

666. **Deport.** Demeanour. "Goddess-like *deport*" occurs in ix. 319.

668. **Judgment from above.** The day of judgment, when the wicked shall be punished and the good rewarded.

669. **Exploded.** Hissed as Satan was hissed in bk. x.

Had i. e. would have.

670. "Had he not been carried away in a cloud out of their sight" We read of no cloud in the Bible story, but Milton remembers that Jesus was received up in a cloud at the time of his ascension.

671. **So violence proceeded.** We have now a general summing up of the situation.

676. **Death's ministers, not men.** Agents employed by Death to carry out his purposes, and therefore not men, but the *enemies of men*.

Deal. Deal out, inflict one on another.

677. **Multiply.** Cain slew only one man, these slay multitudes.

679, 680. Cain slew his *brother*, in the strict sense of the word; these slay their *brethren* in the wider sense of "fellow mortals." Murder is fratricide, inasmuch as mankind form one great family.

681. **Whom had not Heaven rescued** = who had he not been rescued by heaven, i. e. by the Almighty.

682. **In his righteousness.** Expostulation is quick to come to Adam's lips. Cf. "Is piety thus and pure devotion paid? (l. 452.)

684. **Ill-mated.** Ill assorted.

685. **Who** refers to good and bad.

686. **Abhor to join.** Such unions as these are unnatural, almost criminal.

688 **Prodigious births.** In two ways the progeny of these mixed marriages are to be accounted monstrosities (1) *Bodily*. They are of unnatural stature. (2) *Mentally*. They are men of ferocity.

689. **Might** (i.e. physical force) **only shall be admired.** This is everywhere the characteristic of what is called the "heroic" age, as reflected in Homer, Firdousi, etc.

690. **And called valour and heroic virtue.** (Take the words in this order).

694, 695. **And for glory done of triumph &c.** K. cites several interpretations of this passage (which looks more difficult than it really is). We may content ourselves with that suggested by himself and accepted by Masson and Verity. The apparent difficulty

is owing to the unusual order of words. "It shall be held the highest pitch of triumph for glory done to be styled, etc. etc."

We have just been told what is to be held the highest pitch of human glory, viz. three things—to overcome in battle, to subdue nations, and bring home spoil. And now the poet goes on to tell us what is to be held the highest pitch of triumph for glory done (i. e. for the threefold achievement which culminates in bringing home spoil of battle). This pitch or summit of triumph is itself threefold, viz. to be styled great conquerors, patrons of mankind, gods and sons of gods. Triumph=reward, distinction.

696. **Patrons.** *Patronus* in Latin=protector, defender.

699. And what most merits fame (shall be) hid in silence. Fame here has nothing to do with earthly glory, or "broad rumour" as it is styled in *Lycidas*. Cf. the whole passages, in that poem, beginning—

Fame is no plant that grows on earthly soil, &c. l. 78.

700. **The seventh.** The order is as follows:—(1) Adam (2) Seth (3) Enos (4) Cainan (5) Mahaleel (6) Jared and (7) Enoch.

703. **Daring single to be just** Standing up alone for the cause of right and not afraid of the consequences.

704. **Odius truth.** See l. 668. He had said that God would one day be their judge. Milton's authority for this was the epistle of Jude (v. 14). "And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment."

706. **Rapt.** Same as snatched in l. 870.

708. **High in salvation.** A kind of hendiadys. "Among the redeemed up in Heaven."

709. **Exempt from death.** Not coming, therefore, under the penalty of Adam's sin.

710. (And) what punishment (awaits) the rest.

712-901. The last of the series of visions carries us to the end of our present book. Wars and violence have been succeeded, as once before, by peaceful times; but once again wealth and luxury give rise to immorality. Another righteous man appears on the earth and (like Enoch before him) preaches repentance and coming judgment. This man is Noah. For a time he raises his voice, but at last he desists and begins to build a vessel with timber from the mountains. Animals of all species crowd into it; then he and his family go in, and the door is shut. Now begins a great down-pour of rain from the sky, reinforced by the fountains of the deep. The earth is covered with water, till it resembles an ocean without a shore.

Adam is infinitely distressed over the fate of so many of his

posterity drowning before his eyes. Michael explains the justice of it.

Then we have another scene, the earth is dried up, the door of the ark is opened, its various inmates come forth again. A great bow appears in the sky—perhaps the first rainbow ever witnessed by man. This sight inspires the patriarch with the hope that God will no more bring a flood of waters over the earth to destroy mankind.

716. As befell. Explained by what follows. Where passing fair allured them. Passing=surpassing. Fair=fairness.

718. Thence from cups to civil broils. There is here a steady deterioration marked by three stages; (1) libertinism, (2) drunkenness, (3) turmoil.

720. Declared. Expressed. Observe the alliteration.

721. Oft. This word is redundant, being already implied in frequented.

722. Whereso met. Wherever they gathered, e.g. at triumphs or festivals.

775. Souls in prison, in bondage to sin. I Peter iii. 19, 20.

717. And removed his tents far off. "But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded [=urged] them 'to change their dispositions and their acts for the better;—but seeing that they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land. (Josephus, *Antiquities* i).

730. Cubit. A measure of length, viz the distance between the elbow and the point of the middle finger. The English cubit is 18 inches.

732. Large(ly). Large store.

735. Sevens and Pairs=in sevens and pairs. "Of every clean beast shalt thou take unto thee by sevens, and of beasts that are not clean by twos," Genesis vii. 2, 3.

736. Their order (of precedence).

737. Made fast the door. "And God shut them in. Genesis vii. 16.

738. The south-wind. In what follows, Milton borrows many of his most graphic touches from Ovid. E.g. *Notus* or the South Wind, is mentioned in the *Metamorphoses* (cf. bk. x. 702).

739. Wide-hovering. Sweeping far and wide.

741. Vapor and exhalation both mean "thick clouds."

743. Ceiling. The canopy of heaven is compared to the roof of a building. An Elizabethan quibble. The word is from French *ciel* (Latin *coelum*=sky).

746. **Secure.** The inmates were "free from *anxiety*." This (not *safe*) is the first meaning of the word.

747. **Tilting.** A picturesque word, "nodding up and down" (by the action of the waves).

All dwellings else—the ark being counted as one.

750. **See without shore.** Another graphic touch from Ovid.

751. **Whelped.** Brought forth their young.

752, 753. **Of mankind...all left=all** (that were) left of mankind.

752. **Bottom.** Ship or vessel, (originally the keel or hull).

755. **Of all.** Hyperbole.

756. **Depopulation=dispeopling**; the *entire* destruction of the world's inhabitants.

757. **Of tears and sorrow a flood.** A flood of sorrowful tears. *Hendiadys*.

758. **Sunk.** Prostrated.

761. **There is such a father as this** (it will be remembered) in *As You Like It*. (I. ii. 132.)

762. **And scarce.** Hardly found utterance, for emotion.

763. **O visions ill foreseen!** How much better had these visions never been vouchsafed to me!

764. **So.** In such a case, i.e. in my ignorance of future events.

765. **My (individual) part.** He has "suffered with those he saw suffer"—and the pain has been too great to bear.

Each day's lot, &c. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Matthew vi. 34. **Lot** i.e. allotted or appointed burden.

766. **Those=those evils. Dispensed.** Distributed, weighed out. Adam speaks as a man of much feeling. He has a double grievance against Michael, (1) that he has to suffer in this way for future ages, and (2) that he individually suffers for multitudes.

768. **Birth abortive.** These woes have come to the light before their natural time, hence they are likened to abortions, unnatural births.

^{4e} 772. **Evil he may be sure** Understand the words shall befall from previous line.

773. **Neither.** The co-ordinate clause is introduced by *and* instead of the usual "*nor*." This is an elegant Latin idiom: the passage may be thus paraphrased: "*Not only* can his foreknowledge not prevent their taking place, *but* the anticipation of the evils will give him as much pain as their actual occurrence."

775. **Apprehension...substance.** The anticipation is as painful as the reality itself.

777. Man is not. He speaks as if the Flood was a past event on which there is now no going back !

Those few (that have) escaped (from a watery grave). This is in the objective case.

778. Famine and anguish. Adam is too despairing. See l. 872.

779. I had hope (that). He had formerly been too sanguine.

784. Peace to corrupt. That peace corrupts. War to waste. That war wastes. Here the infinitive does duty for a subjunctive clause—a classical idiom.

785. Unfold. Explain or reveal. Adam wishes to know the fortunes of those who had been shut up in the ark, and also why so many have been consigned to a watery grave.

789. First seen=most accomplished. Seen* is used in the sense of skilled or versed in some art or science. Shakespeare speaks of "a schoolmaster well seen in music." *Taming of the Shrew* I. 2. 134. Eminent=conspicuous (qualifies prowess.)

792. And (having) achieved thereby.

794. Course. Mode of life.

795, 796. Wantonness...friendship...hostile deeds. The same succession that was noticed above at l. 718, the "cup of kindness" ending—as so often—in disgraceful broils. In peace. Not when war is raging, but when all is peaceful.

799. With their freedom=with the loss of their freedom. Observe the importance Milton attaches to freedom. The loss of it, he says, involves the loss of virtue and religion !

800. From whom. This clause is added to explain why they fell before their enemies. Feigned piety could not sustain the shock of arms ! They had not much religion or virtue to lose.

802. Cooled in zeal. They have now had enough of fighting.

803. Secure.* Peace without honour.* Yet their conquerors do not reduce them to the condition of *helots*, the luxuries of life at this early period being ample enough to go round all.

804. For the earth, etc. There is enough for all in these days (and more than enough) and their power of self-control, (=temperance) is put to the proof, and found wanting.

807. This line should be taken as an absolute clause, forgot=being forgot.

808. One man except. This and what follows modifies the sweeping assertion introduced by all at l. 806. Three adjectival clauses define this man's character : (1) he is the only son of light

* An interesting discussion on this obsolete sense will be found in Spencer Baynes's *Shakespeare Studies*, 276 f.

in a dark age, (2) he is good against example, (3) he is good against allurements, custom, and an offended world, (for all his contemporaries have turned against this preacher of repentance).

812. He shall admonish them regarding their wicked ways and set before them, etc.

814. How much more safe, i. e. so much safer (in view of "wrath to come").

816. Return, to his own abode. l. 727.

817. Of...of. By...by.

821. Devote. "Devoted to destruction." In this sense Horace has *devotos arbor* = "trees devote." Wrack. Destruction. Cf. "He laboured in his country's wrack". Macbeth I. iii. 114.

822. With them of man and beast. Noah was saved and his family—eight souls in all—besides the different species of clean and unclean animals—by sevens and twos respectively.

824. Sheltered round (within their wooden bulwarks). Cataracts. Cataract is the Greek for a "waterfall," and occurs in the Greek translation of the Bible where the English has "windows"—"All the windows of heaven were opened". Genesis vii. ii. At l. 849 Milton has windows; thus we see he accepts both versions.

827. Fountains of the deep. Springs below the ocean.

827. Usurp. Commit encroachments.

831. The horned flood. "In the imagery of the ancient classics, rivers have been compared to bulls, probably because when they meet with any obstruction they divide themselves, and become, in a manner, horned; or on account of the restless power with which a river in high flood carries all before it."

832. Great River. The Euphrates. It is called the Great River in Scripture. Opening gulf. The Persian Gulf.

835. Orcs. A species of whales. Seamews' clang. "Clanging seamews". An instance of metonymy—the abstract for the concrete.

836, 837. God attributes to place no sanctity, &c. Thus we read in Isaiah, "It is iniquity, even the solemn meeting." (i. 13.)

840. Hull on the flood. The verb means "to float or drift like a ship without masts or sails."

843. Wrinkled the face, etc. Deluge is here spoken of as an old man with wrinkled face. As decayed. This keeps up the "pathetic fallacy". The figure is strained.

845. The clear sun. Now we have the sun personified. His power of drinking up moisture is indicative of thirst. Watery glass. Mirror-like surface. Not quite consistent with the fact that a keen north wind was blowing.

845. Drew. Quaffed.

847. Tripping ebb. Now the waves are personified. In their progress back to the deep, they resemble lightly stepping *elves*. (?)

849. Sluices...windows. This corresponds to the fountains and cataracts of 824, 826.

851. Ararat in Armenia is the mountain referred to.

852. It is not till the waters have ebbed considerably that the tops of hills are laid bare. But the process of retreat, once set in, becomes very rapid.

855. Flies. This raven was sent forth with the object of discovering whether there was dry land. It never returned, and so Noah knew it had found a spot to rest its feet. The sending forth of the raven and of the dove was necessary, as there was no port-holes for purposes of observation.

857. Once and again. The first time, finding "no rest for the sole of her foot" she returned. A second time she came back with an olive leaf. But on being sent forth once again after seven days, she returned no more to the ark.

860. Pacific sign. The olive branch is considered as an emblem of peace. It was the custom of ambassadors suing for peace to carry one in their hands.

864. Beholds. Supply the subject from I. 862.

866. Listed = arranged in stripes. Only three colours are spoken of : red, yellow and blue—these being the most conspicuous : hence also triple-coloured bow I. 897. But we commonly recognise *seven* colours in the rainbow, viz., red, yellow, orange, green, blue, indigo, violet.

868. Erst. Formerly.

872. The doubt expressed at I. 777 is here relieved.

874. Lament for (the destruction of).

875. After rejoice, we should expect not for, but over.

878. From him. From his loins.

880. Distended. Widely spread. The brow of God appeased. "The bow being produced by the shining of the sun on the dark storm-cloud, was peculiarly appropriate as a sign of God's grace reappearing after the storm of wrath had swept the earth. The bow appearing to unite heaven and earth has always seemed to the intelligent nations to be the messenger of grace from God to men ; and arching over the whole horizon, exhibits the all-embracing universality of the promise." Dods, *Commentary on Genesis*.

880. A flowery verge (or border). This explanation is certainly the more fanciful of the two.

884. Aimst. Conjecturest.

886. **Late relenting &c.** Late=lately, not long ago. We read that before sending the Deluge "it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart." Genesis vi. 6.

889. **Those removed.** Nominative absolute. The antediluvians are referred to.

891. **Relents (and resolves) not.** Pregnant construction.

898. **Call to mind his covenant.** The Bible is frankly anthropomorphic. "And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud *and I will remember my covenant.*" The covenant here is the promise not to destroy the earth again with a Flood.

900. **Till fire purge all things new.** Another instance of the pregnant construction. This renewal of the Heavens and Earth will be one of the main themes of bk xii. Nature fell with man—as we saw in bk. x.—and must needs therefore participate in man's restoration. In either case fire will be employed as the means of purification. See 2 Peter, iii. 12 and Luke iii. 16.

BOOK XII.

The visions of the preceding bk. are not continued in the present one. This is regretted by many, for these visions undoubtedly gave a very striking character to the early part of Michael's account of future events. But difficulties would have arisen in the presentation after the same manner of the more intricate events of later history.*

Other objections have been taken against the book. The reader who seeks only for entertainment is doomed to disappointment. "Art for art's sake" was not a watchword current in Milton's generation; our poet did not write so much to please as to instruct—as Dante had done before him. The word *vates* in Latin, with its twofold meaning of prophet and poet, very accurately describes Milton's conception of his calling. As his poem draws to its close the author speaks more and more of the things that are nearest his heart; and we discover, if we have not done so before, that *Paradise Lost* is fundamentally a religious poem and a storehouse of the writer's most cherished opinions on what to him were the most momentous questions. The book that has been the most neglected of the twelve no doubt ranked very high in its author's regard, and for those who will read between the lines it contained much interesting biographical matter.

Everyone has smiled over the story of the Cambridge mathematician who read *Paradise Lost* through and laid it down with the prosaic remark, "After all, Milton's poem proves nothing!" Apart from the question whether or not the puritan poet satisfies his readers' religious sense, he must be credited at least with attempting to prove something. Adam's outburst of wonder and praise after hearing of consummation of the story of redemption—

O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense,
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness!—

this outburst, with what follows, sounds like an echo of the *quod*

* "Let any one" says Keightley, "go over in his mind the long series of events contained in this bk., and the account given in it of doctrines and opinions, and he will see what a fruitless attempt it would have been to present them in a succession of pictorial representations. At least, they would have required the space of several books, and would probably have wearied by their prolixity."

erat demonstrandum of the mathematician, rendered into triumphant strains of music by the "organ voice of England."

Even if we cannot accept Milton's scheme of the universe, we are not therefore justified in assuming an air of superiority towards him who has given that scheme such magnificent embodiment. The masterpiece of English Literature has suffered not a little at the hands of critics because of their imperfect sympathy with its author's antiquated views. But we must be careful not to apply the wrong criterion to what after all must stand or fall as a work of art. Sir Walter Raleigh, whose brilliant volume on Milton contains the last word of criticism on this vexed subject, utters here no uncertain sound:—

"Paradise Lost will not bear—it would at no time, not even in the most theological of ages have borne—the most searching tests of realism, of verisimilitude, and credibility. It is all the greater skill in the poet that by his careful handling of our imagination and feelings he actually does produce 'that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith.' And again, 'The less it will endure the trial as a system or theory of the universe, the more wonderful does it appear as a work of art.'"

The twelfth bk. falls into the following divisions:—

(1) 1-385. Michael brings up his history of God's dealings with mankind to the time of the Messiah.

(2) 386-507. The conflict of the Messiah with Satan, and the overthrow of the latter.

(3) 507-587. The latter days of the church—including those on which Milton's old age has fallen—which are darkened by apostasy, a condition of things for which there is no remedy but the re-appearing of the Messiah.

(4) 588-end. Leaving Paradise tearfully but submissively, our first parents enter upon a new phase of existence in a world adapted to their fallen condition.

1-5. These five lines were added to the second edition, when the last book (originally the tenth) was broken up into two. The seventh was similarly divided; and what had been in ten was henceforth published in twelve books. This place was a suitable one for Michael to pause in his narration: the world anterior to the Flood has been disposed of: he comes now to the new beginning of the race after its waters have subsided.

I. Baits. Takes his mid-day meal. Bates. Slackens his speed. The latter is the original reading, but K. and others prefer the

former. The narrator at this point does not merely *slow up*, he comes to a *dead stop*.

If Adam. Giving him an opportunity to interpose with any question or observation.

5. *Transition*. The passing from one subject to another.

6-104. Adam's mortal sight begins to fail. Not to tax this sense any further, Michael continues his instructions in the form of a connected narrative.

After the Deluge there follows a brief period of peace and good government; what might be called a silver age.

This passes away and we come to the origin of tyranny. Nimrod—not mentioned by name, though there is no mistaking his identity, subjects his fellow-men to his ambitious ends and employs them in the building of the famous tower of Babel—"Nimrod's folly," as it proves itself to be. For tyrannising over his brethren Nimrod is only partly responsible; for by losing their inward sense of freedom, the victims of vice have brought this undesirable condition on themselves.

7. *Second stock*. A metaphor from husbandry. No word in the English language has a greater number of meanings. Here the original sense of "the stem of a tree" is employed figuratively.

9. *Mortal*, used in the sense of weak or frail.

10. *Impair*. Injure.

13. *Source*. The same idea as in l. 7. But the metaphor is changed from a *tree* to a *stream*.

14. *Dread of judgment past*. Fear of a judgment to come, springing from the recollection of the appalling one that has taken place.

16. *With some regard*. This answers to the "silver age" of the ancient poets, the state of bliss in Paradise corresponding to the golden. The iron age will begin presently.

17. *Shall lead*. The subject is source l. 13. (*While yet... just and right* is parenthetical).

18. *Labouring*=cultivating the ground (in the sense of Latin *laborare*).

29. *Unblamed*=innocent: (goes with joy).

24. *Under paternal rule*. The age of the patriarchs: "a condition of society in which the head of the family exercises unlimited authority over all his descendants." Till one shall rise. His name is not stated, but Nimrod is obviously referred to. In the Genesis account of this hero (ix. 8-10) there is nothing about violence or tyranny, but such traits are conspicuous in the narrative of Josephus. According to the Jewish historian, Nimrod's

great object in life was to turn away men's minds from religion and thus be revenged on God for sending the Flood upon earth.

27. **Arrogate.** Claim unduly or presumptuously.

Dispossess. Nimrod found concord and the law of Nature in possession: he puts them out of possession.

30. **Hunting...with war and hostile snare.** Using violence and craft against all who resisted his authority.

33. **A mighty hunter.** Not one who pursues game, but one who exercises dominion over his fellow-men; a conqueror and lord.*

34. **Before the Lord.** (From Genesis x. 9). Nimrod is represented as claiming second sovereignty either (1) in despite of Heaven (before=against); or (2) from Heaven (before=under)—as if he pretended to derive his authority from the Highest. The poet offers us our choice between these two interpretations.

36. **And from rebellion shall derive his name.** The popular derivation of Nimrod connected it with Hebrew *marad*=to rebel.

37. **Others he accuse=he accuses others.**

39. **With him or under him.** The same distinction as in bk. i (l. 606), where Satan's associates are spoken of as—

The fellows of his crime, the followers rather.

41. **The plain.** Mesopotamia, lying between the Euphrates and Tigris. **Bituminous gurge.** Bitumen was here plentiful, and was employed in making bricks. **Gurge** means whirlpool. The poet imagines some cavity in the ground (like the crater of a volcano) from which issues the pitch, whose inflammable nature suggests this comparison with the *mouth of Hell*.

42. **Mouth of Hell.** is used in a poetical and figurative sense. Milton's was not (like Homer's and Virgil's) under the surface of the ground.

43. **Cast to build.** Projected or meditated the building of.

44. **A city viz. Babylon.**

Whose top may reach to Heaven. This, in the poetical language of the Bible, might mean only a very high tower; but a literal meaning is not impossible. In their ignorance they may have thought that Heaven was quite within their reach. But according to Josephus their object was a less ambitious one—to build so

*As the first to assume the power and functions of royalty, he receives on his devoted head all the vials of Milton's wrath against the institution of monarchy—the king being in the eyes of the author of *Bikonoclastes* the arch-rebel against God.

high that the waters of another deluge would not be able to reach the top.

45. **Get themselves a name.** They wanted a rallying-place for their tribe.

48. **Who oft descends.** "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded." Genesis xi 5.

52. **Obstruct Heaven towers.** Milton assumes that the tower was built with the object of assailing Heaven.

53. **In derision sets upon their tongues a various spirit.** "When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners; but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them diverse languages; and bringing it about that, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another." Josephus.

54. **Rase quite out.** Blot out of existence. *Lit. level with the ground*, as one would destroy a building.

55. **Sow.** We have now a metaphor from husbandry.

56. **Gabble.** Rapid and incoherent speech. The word is suggestive of the poultry yard.

57. **Each to other calls.** When they address one another, it is like speaking to foreigners. **Not understood** is in agreement with other.

58. **All in rage, &c.** When their questions meet with no intelligible response, they storm at each other in anger, not yet realizing what has happened.

Great laughter. Milton accepts and even exaggerates the anthropomorphism of the Bible. The passage is somewhat wanting in reverence, unless it can be said that Milton wishes (in the words of an old commentator) "to show, in a strong light, the pitiable case of those who have become the objects of the derision of Him, without whom, and against whose will, they can do nothing."

60. **Hubbub.** Confusion.

61. **Left ridiculous.** Left off in an uncompleted state, and destined to become a monument of the builders' folly.

63. **Fatherly displeased.** As the father of mankind, he is grieved at the impiety of his descendant.

64. **O execrable son!** Apostrophe.

66. **Usurped, from God not given.** Both ideas are anticipated in the word **assuming**=taking upon himself what belongs only to God.

68. **Dominion absolute.** Milton's authority for this is

Genesis i. 28. "God created man, male and female, in his own image and said, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

69. Man over man he made not lord. In the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* (ii. 15) Milton discussing "the possession of slaves and the extent of the master's authority," cites passages in favour of slavery from both Testaments! His feelings on the subject cannot have been quite as strong as this passage would lead us to suppose.

71. Human left from human free. A fine example of the substitution of the adjective for the substantive. We seem to have the whole case against tyranny in a nutshell!

The rank is but the guinea stamp—
The man's the gold for a' that!

73. Stays not on man. Does not limit (his usurpation) to human beings.

74. Siege and defiance = "defiant siege." (Hendiadys).

76. Thin air etc. "A degree of knowledge in physics to which Adam could hardly have attained." Keightley. This sort of criticism is a sin against the spirit of poetry, and not even clever. The remark taken exception to was made from a mountain summit, and Adam may quite well have been speaking from personal experience. Not a "knowledge of physics," but mere natural observation is all that was wanted on Adam's part!

77. Pine his entrails gross. Pine is here used transitively, in the sense of torment or afflict. Shakespeare has "pine the maw."

78. Famish...of. Make to pine for want of—an uncommon use of the word. Notice the quibble on breath and bread.

80. Son. Descendant.

81. Affecting. Presuming. Latin *affectre* = aim at something arrogantly.

82. Rational liberty. This sounds like an echo of the party watchwords of the seventeenth century.

83. Original lapse. This of course refers to "man's first disobedience." Lapse, literally a slipping or falling.

True liberty. There is here some confusion between (1) slavery in the ordinary sense, (2) slavery to one's lower nature, and (3) subjection to a tyrant. The angel Michael wishes perhaps to indicate that these three are more intimately inter-related than is generally recognized.

84. Which always with right reason dwells, i. e. there is only one kind of liberty worth the name, viz. the power or inclination to pursue rational ends—but man lost this when he first fell.

Twined. Born together with and inseparable form.

85. Dividual being. Separable existence.

86. Reason in man obscured. "When reason is obscured or dulled." An absolute clause.

88. Catch the government. Usurp the prerogative of reason, which ought to rule or regulate man's "little kingdom."

89. Servitude. Moral slavery.

91. Unworthy powers. The passions and appetites that ought not to control but be controlled by man.

98. Virtue, which is reason. Because the principles of virtue are founded on reason and rest on the nature of things.

No wrong, but justice.=no wrong inflicted on them by a fellow mortal, but the strict justice of Heaven. Their deplorable condition is the inevitable consequence of their own wrong doing.

99. Fatal curse annexed (to justice). The inevitable punishment attaching to transgression—which Adam has experienced for himself in connection with the eating of the forbidden fruit.

101. Their inward lost=after 'their inward liberty has been lost.

The irreverent son. i.e. Ham, whose crime is related in Genesis ix. (No mention has been made of this disgraceful incident—but Adam might have seen in his vision things not specified in the poem).

104. Servant of servants. "And he [Noah] said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." It seems strange, that he should have been singled out as the scapegoat for the whole of the family, for he was only one of four sons. But (as Dodg says) "of all Ham's descendants, the Canaanites both appeared to the Hebrews, and actually were, most markedly characterized by their father's coarse shamelessness."

Servant of servants means "a servant in whom every characteristic of servitude appears."

105—150. This iron age continues for several generations. During this time morality and religion are steadily on the down grade—men getting farther and farther away from God. Then a new start is made in the person of Abram (afterwards Abraham), to whom is revealed in a vision the knowledge of the true God. In obedience to a divine monition, he travels from his home by the Euphrates to the country of the Jordan—which he receives on behalf of his heirs for a perpetual inheritance. This land

is at that time in the possession of the Canaanites (descendants of Ham), but is destined at a latter day—in virtue of this promise to the patriarch—to become the Holy Land.

105. Former world. The antediluvians.

107. Wearied with their iniquities. Cf. "Thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities." Isaiah lxiii. 24.

108. Avert his holy eyes. "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity." Habakkuk i. 13.

110. Leave them to their own polluted ways. "Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness." Romans i. 24.

111. One peculiar nation. The Hebrews, whom God chose from among the nations for his own possession. Peculiar= belonging to one's self, one's own. Latin *peculium*=the private property a slave was allowed to possess.

112. Invoked. Called upon in worship.

113. One faithful man. Another fresh start for humanity. Abram (afterwards Abraham), himself faithful, is singled out to be the "father of the faithful."

114. Him may be taken (1) with from in the previous line; or (2) with call in l. 121 (regarding the words O that...for gods as parenthetical).

117. The Patriarch.. who scaped the Flood. Milton still avoids mentioning names. Noah, who is here referred to, survived the Deluge by 350 years, dying at the age of 930. Terah, the father of Abraham was contemporary with Noah for 128 years. He was an idolater, as we learn from Joshua xxiv. 2. According to Jewish tradition he even was a maker of idols—thus the stricture in the text is not without foundation.

120. Him refers (as in l. 114.) to Abraham.

121. To call by vision. The passage which records the call of Abraham (Genesis xii. 1) speaks only of a verbal message—there is no mention of dream or vision. He was commanded to leave his country and kindred and to journey to an unknown land, where the Lord would bless him and make of him a great nation, and through him bless all the families of the earth.

124. Shower his benediction &c. has reference to this last clause of the above promise.

127. Firm (ly) believes.

128. But thou canst not. The visions still pass before Michael, though Adam sees them no longer.

130. Ur. This is the same as the modern Mugheir, which (according to Assyriologists) was an important city long before

the building of Babylon. It is situated 125 miles from the mouth of the Euphrates.

Chaldea is Lower Babylonia.

Haran is 550 miles N. W. of **Ur**, on a tributary of the Euphrates. It is the same as Carrhae, the scene of the defeat of the Roman general Crassus in the year 53 B. C.

It was at this place, according to the account in Genesis, that the call came to Abraham : but Milton has the authority of Acts vii. 4 for pre-dating it.

132. **Servitude.** Retinue of slaves. Abstract for concrete.

134. In a land unknown, to be taken with trusting=entrusting.

135. **Canaan** is the oldest name for Palestine or the Promised Land. It is about the size of Wales. At this early time it was in the possession of the Canaanites, the descendants of the race on whom had fallen the "heavy curse" of l. 103.

136. **Sechem** (=the shoulder blade) is the modern Nablus. It lies 30 miles N. of Jerusalem in a fertile valley—described by a modern traveller as "wild and beautiful."

Plain of Moreh. "And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh." Plain is a mistranslation for "oak", the reference perhaps being to a tree held sacred by the Canaanites.

139. **Hamath** a city on the Orontes. It is now called Hama, and has a population of 30,000. It is mentioned in the O. T. as the ideal north limit of the Holy Land. The desert south The Wilderness of the Wandering, or the part of it known as the desert of Zin.*

142. **From Hermon east.** This mountain (9400 feet) is a great northern landmark of Palestine, being the "southern outpost" of the Anti-Libanus range. Milton wrongly supposes it to be east of the Jordan, but in his time very little was known of the geography of the Holy Land.

144. **Carmel** (742 feet) is a headland on the Mediterranean, the most striking feature on the coast of Palestine. **Double-founded stream.** This describes the Jordan, which rises from two main streamlets issuing from the base of Mount Hermon ; those unite near Lake Merom, from whence the waters find their way to the better known Lake of Gennesaret.

146. **Shall dwell to** (=as far as) **Senir.** This is the Amorite name for Mt. Hermon, but Milton seems to have some other range in his mind.

*Observe the four boundaries here assigned to the Holy Land ; viz. Hamath on the north, the desert of Zin on the south, Hermon on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west.

151-214. Michael's narrative* now goes on to describe the circumstances under which the Children of Israel settled in the land of Egypt. Joseph a great grandson of Abraham, had been sold as a slave by his brethren and carried down to Egypt. Here in course of time he became the second man in the realm, having foreseen the great famine that was about to afflict the land and suggested precautionary measures to save the lives of the people. The famine having visited the neighbouring country of Canaan, it became necessary for Joseph's father and brethren to migrate to Egypt, where alone corn could be procured. They are hospitably treated for a time; but as their numbers increase, they become an object of fear to the Egyptians, who subject them to the yoke of bondage, and even try to exterminate them.

Under the hand of Moses the people are at length delivered from their enemies by marvellous signs from Heaven. They pass over the Red sea as on dry land, while their enemies pursuing after them are overwhelmed in its waters.

151. Plainlier. E. G. at l. 429.

152. Faithful Abraham. The epithet does not mean "trusty" but "full of faith." The Bible frequently refers to Abraham's trust in God as the outstanding trait in his character.

152. A son=Isaac. A grandchild=Jacob, born to Isaac. with twelve sons increased, augmented: This use of the word is peculiar.

157. Divided...disgorging. Upper Egypt is cut into two parts by the Nile, which enters the sea by seven principal mouths, forming the Delta.

160. Younger son. This is Joseph, the eleventh of Jacob's twelve sons. As a youth he had incurred the envy of his elder brothers, (to whom he had related certain dreams which foreshadowed his future greatness) and they sold him as a slave to a caravan of merchants going to Egypt. Here his worthy deeds raise him to be the second in that realm of Pharaoh. The time of dearth refers to the seven years of famine that followed the seven years of plenty. Joseph having interpreted Pharaoh's two dreams—in which these events had been dimly foreshadowed—had been appointed ruler of Egypt, and in this capacity had gathered in enough corn to serve the people for the seven years of famine.

165. A sequent king. The Pharaoh of the Oppression, commonly identified with Rameses II, who lived about 1330 B. C. and was one of the most powerful rulers of Egypt. His mummy was discovered in 1881, and preserves his stern and lofty features almost as in life.

*Up to the time of the apostles it pursues the fortunes of the Hebrew people, and touches upon those of other nations only so far as these come in contact with the Hebrews.

166. To stop their overgrowth. This was because the children of Israel "increased abundantly and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty." The Egyptians beginning to be afraid of them, instructed the midwives to put every male child to death. Hence we read and kills their infant males (168).

167. Of guests.....slaves. Taskmasters set them to build treasure cities for Pharaoh, "and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field." Exodus i. 14.

170. Moses and Aaron. The former was the more conspicuous person, but being slow of speech, Aaron generally acted as his spokesman. He was 80, and Aaron 83, at the time when they stood before Pharaoh.

172. Glory and spoil. Glory because their enemies were overthrown in the Red Sea (in the manner about to be described); spoil, because the Israelites did not leave Egypt empty-handed, but took away with them "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold and raiment." Exodus iii. 22.

Lawless tyrant. This is not the sequent king of l. 165, for 80 years have elapsed. The infant Moses (now 80) had been saved from the midwives by being concealed in a basket of bulrushes.

The Pharaoh of the Exodus is called Busiris in bk. i, where Milton sings of his overthrow and that of his Memphian chivalry,

While with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcasses
And broken chariot-wheels—

Busiris however is a legendary personage. The real Pharaoh was probably the son and successor of Rameses II. (whose name was Merhuptah).

Denies to know. Refuses to acknowledge.

175. Signs and judgments. Signs refers to the miracles Moses performed before Pharaoh to prove his divine commission, such as the turning of Aaron's rod into a serpent, etc. The judgments are the ten plagues which are now briefly glanced at viz., (1) the water made blood, (2) the frogs, (3) the lice, (4) the flies, (5) the murrain, (6) the boils and blains, (7) the thunder and hail, (8) the locusts, (9) the darkness, and (10) the death of the firstborn.

Blood unshed. This was produced by the smiting of the waters by Aaron's rod.

179. Rot and murrain. Murrain "which rotted the flesh." Hendiadys. It is "a peculiar disease among cattle, caused by a hot dry season, which produces an inflammation of the blood." The word is connected with the Sanskrit *mri*.

Botches and blains. Pustules and swellings.

180. **Emboss=inflate.** This plague attacked both man and beast.

188. **Palpable**=that can be felt. "For three days the land was covered with a palpable cloud which shut out all light from sun, moon, and stars. The condition of darkness is strikingly like that brought about by the severer form of the electrical wind hamsin. It causes a blackness equal to the worst of London fogs, while the air is so hot and full of dust that respiration is impeded."

189. **Midnight stroke.** "God claimed all the first-born of humanity as His own, and ordained that in Israel they were to be redeemed by sacrifice. In this plague the unredeemed first-born of Egypt were sacrificed in one great slaughter. It affected all classes from Pharaoh on the throne to the captive in prison, as well as the domestic cattle. By this final catastrophe the obstinacy of Pharaoh was overcome, and, as Moses had foretold, the Egyptians not only freed Israel, but commanded their exodus." Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.*

Ten wounds. The plagues are meant. "Plague" is derived from a Greek word meaning "a stroke or blow."

191. **River dragon.** The Pharaohs are so described more than once in the Bible with allusion, perhaps, to the crocodile.

Submits to let. Relents and permits—a kind of pregnant construction.

194. **More hardened after thaw.** After each plague has been withdrawn (at the instance of Moses) Pharaoh's heart is hardened worse than before.

The illustration of ice hardening, worse after thaw was suggested by Virgil. Physics has nothing to say in corroboration of science of this sort!

197. **Two crystal walls.** "An appropriate use of the word crystal, which in Greek means 'that which is congealed,' 'congealed water,' 'ice.' Though we are not told it was the agency of cold, yet Moses in his song (Exod. xv. 8) speaks of the depths being congealed in the heart of the sea."

197. **Awed.** A curious example of the "pathetic fallacy."

199. **His rescued (ones).** The bondmen are now a free people.

200. **His saint=Moses.** At the time *Paradise Lost* was published, this word, "the highest expression in the language for moral perfection, connoted everything that was ridiculous." (Pattison)

* The above quotations are from an article by Sir A. Macalister, Principal of Glasgow University.

Though (Himself) present in his angel. The "Angel of the Lord" is a common expression in the O. T. and might refer either to one of the angels, or to God in self-manifestation. The latter view is probably the correct one, i.e. the Angel of the Lord is God Himself.

202. A cloud and pillar of fire. Cf. Rebecca's song in Scott's *Ivanhoe*:

When Israel, of the Lord beloved,
Out of the land of bondage came
Her fathers' God before her moved,
An awful guide in smoke and flame.
By day, along the astonish'd lands
The cloudy pillar glided slow ;
By night, Arabia's crimsoned sands
Returned the fiery column's glow.

204. Remove behind them.....pursues. "And the angel of the Lord, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them; and it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light by night to these; so that the one came not near the other all the night." Exodus xiv. 19.

This passage explains the unwonted expression in l. 206: his approach darkness defends between="intervening darkness forbids it." (Masson).

210. Craze. The same word as "crash." Both are connected with O. E. *crasen*=to break. Cf. French *écraser*, which has the same meaning.

213. Embattled ranks. *Forces drawn up in battle array.

214-258. The chief events of the 40 years' sojourn in the wilderness are now briefly glanced at. Three things are dwelt on as most worthy of note, viz. (1) The life of privation in the desert turns a race of slaves into an army of soldiers. (2) The people during these years receive from God their national laws, both civil and religious. (3) The Divine Being comes down and "tabernacles" among them and they are changed into a holy people.

214. War. Poetic for "army." The figure is metonymy. From the shore advance. The Chosen People are now on their way to the Promised Land, having passed through the western arm of the Red Sea, not far from its most northerly point (near Suez).

Wild desert. *The Sinai Peninsula is a triangular area situated between the eastern and western arms of the Red Sea,

described as "a plateau, elevated generally about 2,000 feet above the sea, but with numerous undulations and hills which attain nearly to 3,000 feet, intersected by many ramifying valleys, sometimes narrow and deep...The surface is an arid waste, generally as monotonous as possible in scenery, and nearly waterless." *Cambridge Bible*.

217. **Alarmed.** The Canaanites on their approach would be "roused to arms," (not "fear-stricken," which is the modern sense of the word).

Return=cause to return... Little better than a horde of slaves, they would not yet have the courage or skill to encounter trained troops.

220. **Inglorious life with servitude.** The word life is here emphatic. For the sake of that, they would go again under the old yoke of bondage!

221. **More sweet** (to those) untrained in arms (than to those trained in arms). Milton is contrasting civilians and soldiers. It is a law of the human mind that we cannot think of a thing without at the same time thinking of the opposite or correlative notion; and therefore, as "civilian" necessarily makes us think of "soldier," the ellipsis here should occasion no difficulty. Having no military training, rather than risk being slain in battle, they would accept life on any terms.*

Where rashness leads not on. Untrained men, the poet thinks, can be brave enough when "their blood is up" i.e. by fits and starts,—but only to regularly trained soldiers is courage in the field "a second nature."

223. **This also, viz. organization.** Their 40 years' delay in the wilderness gives time for a new generation to grow up, more prepared in many ways to undertake the conquest of Canaan.

224. **Found their government, the theocracy** (= government immediately by God). "According to the Mosaic constitution, Israel was not like the other nations, a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy; it was, as Josephus remarks, a theocracy. God's kingship in Israel included the three spheres of legislation, administration, and official patronage." *Cambridge Bible*.

225. **Great Senate.** This refers to the 70 elders appointed to assist Moses in administering justice. See Numbers xi.—a wonderful chapter which no student should fail to read, if he would know what manner of man Moses was.

* Verity, however, ignoring the above distinction, explains this passage as follows:—"more sweet" i.e. than liberty; the sense, I think is—"Noble men and ignoble alike, if untrained in arms, prefer life to freedom except in cases where mere rashness transports them from their usual characters."

But is there any true antithesis between "life" and "freedom"? "Life may be preferred to death, servitude may be preferred to freedom; but how can 'life' be presented to a man as an alternative to 'freedom'? Perhaps Mr. Verity only means, "prize life more than they prize freedom."

227. The mount of Sinai.* This is near the southern angle of the Peninsula. The children of Israel were encamped near its base for 14 months. The giving of the law of the ten commandments (the moral law) is the theme of Exodus xix., xx. After this came the proclamation of civil and ritual laws. It is very strange that Milton ignores the promulgation of the moral law, but it might have diverted him from his main theme.

Destined seed=seed destined.

232-233. Types and shadows. Symbols, like the slaying of animals in sacrifice. Their use was mainly negative, as will be explained presently.

235. The voice of God...is dreadful. The poet shows how Moses came to hold the office of Mediator, thus becoming a type and shadow of Christ. When the voice of God was heard from Mount Sinai, accompanied by thunders, and lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the smoking of the mountain, the people feared and said to Moses, "Speak thou to us, and we will hear: but let not God speak to us lest we die."

Moses was a mediator in two senses—(1) He came between God and the people to shield them from the Divine severity; (2) he was the channel whereby God's law was brought to their knowledge.

238. And (that) terror (might) cease. He=Moses.

What they besought. This is the reading of the Second Edition, then their desire stood in its place in the First.

240. Mediator here refers to Christ, the one greater of l. 242. The original idea of "mediation" is unfolded in the Son's speech in bk. iii. at l. 227. (See summary in the Introduction, p. xxvi.)

241. In figure=symbolically.

242. Foretell see Acts iii. 22-24.

244. Shall sing=foretell, prophesy. Latin *canere* (=to sing) is used also in this sense.

247. Set up his tabernacle.† The tabernacle in the wilderness was symbolical of Jehovah's dwelling amongst his people. Cf. "My dwelling shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."‡

*227 Whose gray top..he descending This is an absolute clause. Bentley wished to change he into "him." The great classical scholar did not know, apparently, that the absolute clause in English is the *nominative*.

†There are in Exodus two descriptions of the tabernacle:—(1) Where instructions about its construction are given, the parts are described from *within outwards* but (2) where the actual work of erection is narrated, the opposite order is observed, the outer parts first, and the inner last.

‡In John's Gospel the familiar words "The word became flesh and dwelt among us" mean literally "pitched his tent among us," apparently with reference to the tabernacle in the wilderness—a parable compressed into a single word.

249. A sanctuary of cedar. Cedar is probably an oversight for shittim wood (=acacia).

The tabernacle was divided into two unequal divisions; the smaller (or inner) compartment was the *Holy of Holies*, and contained the ark; the larger (or outer) was the *Holy Place*, and contained the golden candlestick and some other things not referred to in the text.

251. An ark. This was an oblong chest of acacia wood, overlaid within and without with gold. The most sacred symbol of Israelite worship, it has been described as the "palladium" of the nation. Inside this chest was preserved the decalogue, written on two tables of stone. By the testimony Milton means the records of his covenant or of God's solemn transactions with his people. The covenant, is properly speaking the agreement or compact between God and his people (briefly that He would be their God and that they would be His people). Moses, we are told, at the giving of the Law read it over in the audience of the people, who solemnly declared: "All that the Lord hath said we will do, and be obedient." Ex. xxiv. 7.

253. A mercy-seat of gold. A slab of solid gold resting upon the ark, and exactly covering it. Resting upon the mercy-seat were two symbolic figures of gold—the two bright cherubim.

255. Seven lamps ~~was~~ in a zodiac. This lamp-stand, as we have seen, was in the outer compartment of the tabernacle. Milton borrowed from Josephus the idea that the seven candles represented the heavenly fires (by which are meant the seven planets).

256. A cloud...a fiery gleam. See note on l. 208.

258-314. Moses dies, and his successor Joshua leads the people into their ancient heritage. An allegorical meaning is easily read into this supercession of Moses—viz. that the law, of which Moses is the representative, cannot bring man to the land of rest for which his soul yearns. To Joshua therefore is this task assigned; by a striking coincidence the name is but a lengthened form of "Jesus" and means "Saviour."

269. His angel, i. e. "God in self-manifestation" as we saw above (l. 200).

281. How many battles fought. Milton passes lightly over the 40 years' wanderings, the crossing of the Jordan, and the entrance into Canaan. But he pauses at one striking incident in the conquest of Canaan.

285. The sun...stand still. These words refer to the famous victory gained by the Israelites at Beth-horon, where Joshua opposed the five kings of the Amorites. After their defeat Joshua said in the sight of Israel, "Sun, stand still upon

Gibeon; and thou Moon, in the valley of Ajalon." "And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies."

267. * So call the third from Abraham. This refers to Jacob, whose other name was Israel: hence "Israelites," descendants of Israel.

270. Adam, who has not spoken since he expressed his displeasure at Nimrod's impiety in building the tower of Babel, now reviews that part of Michael's narrative that had bridged the interval between Nimrod and Joshua; he says that the story of Abraham and his descendants is that which has chiefly interested him.

273. Now first I find mine eyes true opening, because (1) light has been thrown upon the promise connected with the "seed of the woman"; and (2) the types and shadows mentioned by Michael have conveyed hints about the work of the Messiah, in whom all nations are to be blessed.

278. Favoured unmerited—referring to the provision granted to him of these future days. See John viii. 56.

281. To dwell on Earth. See foot note to l. 247, above.

282. So many and so various laws. What has most perplexed Adam in Michael's narrative has been the mention of the numerous laws laid down at Sinai (l. 230 seq.) Is Adam perhaps thinking the dire results of that *single* prohibition laid on him and Eve?

283. So many laws argue so many sins. Argue (Latin *arguo*)=prove, make evident or clear. The Latin *argentum* (=silver) means the *clear* metal.

285. As of thee begot. Cf. the words of the long soliloquy in bk. x. (l. 228).

All that I eat or drink, or shall beget
Is propagated curse.

287. To evince their natural pravity. This is because "by the law is the knowledge of sin." Evince=demonstrate.

288. By stirring up sin^s against law to fight. Prohibition naturally provokes resistance.

290. Law can discover sin but not remove. St. Paul taught that the use of the law was to acquaint men with the power that sin possessed in their hearts. Far from bringing them salvation, it only made them feel farther than ever from the wished-for goal—the law was in short a "schoolmaster,"—a moral guardian for those in a state of pupilage; therefore merely a transitory phase in the spiritual development of the race.

291. Shadowy expiations weak. These had power to make a man ceremonially clean, but could not bring relief to the conscience.

293. Some blood more precious, i. e. a spiritual,* not a material oblation. The blood is symbolical of the life. In the case of animal sacrifices, this is taken without the victim's will, almost without its knowledge. Such sacrifices, therefore, have no ethical value. The metaphor so common in scripture ("He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter" etc.) breaks down the moment we take it seriously i. e. the moment we make a comparison between the type and the anti-type; so true it is that the old religious rites (l. 231) were shadows, not substantial things.

295. Righteousness imputed. Milton has also "obedience imputed" (l. 408) and "merit imputed" (iii. 291); but I believe he does not anywhere speak of "sin" imputed. The merits of Christ are here laid down as the condition both of the pardon of sin and of acceptance in the sight of God.

301. Resign them...to a better covenant. The idea running throughout these lines (as far as l. 306) is that the law is "our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ."*

307. Moses...Canaan.† We have here hints of an allegorical interpretation of the threefold story of (1) the Exodus from Egypt, (2) the wanderings in the wilderness and (3) the entrance into Canaan.

310. Whom the Gentiles Jesus call. The translators employed to turn the Hebrew Bible into Greek rendered "Joshua" by "Jesus."‡ They were 70 in number, and their version is called the septuagint.

311. Quell. Crush, overthrow.

The world's wilderness. We find this idea in the familiar opening words of the *Pilgrim's Progress* "As I was walking through the wilderness of this world."

*The passage brings out five contrasts between the "old covenant" and the "new covenant." (1) The old is imperfect, the new is perfect. (2) The old is disciplinary, the new is definitive and final. (3) The old is shadowy, the new is substantial. (4) The old is legal, the new opens the door to a life of freedom from its narrowing restraints. (5) Man's relation to God under the old is that of servitude—under the new that of sonship.

†Canaan is a "figure and shadow" of Heaven, the consummation awaiting all the faithful; the Wilderness is the type of the misery into which sin has brought Adam's posterity; Moses represents the law, a hard master, who can curb and control, but not redeem; he can bring his people to the borders of the Promised Land, but cannot lead them in! Over against the figure of Moses, stands that of Joshua whose name signifies "Saviour." Under him the Israelites cross over Jordan and take possession of the "land flowing with milk and honey";—like his namesake Jesus who should one day say to "sick self-weary men," "Come unto me, and I will give you rest."

‡ Two examples occur of in the N.T. In Acts vii. 45 and Hebrews iv. 8 "Jesus" does not refer to Jesus of Nazareth, but to Joshua, Moses' minister.

314. **Paradise.** The Hebrews believed in the existence of an earthly and a heavenly Paradise, the latter being the dwelling-place of God. It is to this that Michael refers. Canaan is sometimes used in this allegorical sense.

315-344. For some centuries the people are ruled over by judges, and afterwards by kings. Of the latter the most outstanding is David. From his loins it was promised there would arise the king whose reign should have no end. David's son is noteworthy as the king to whom was entrusted the building of the temple in Jerusalem. The successors of these kings fall into evil courses, and the chosen people fall once again under the dominion of foreign invaders who destroy the holy city and deport the nation.

315. **Meanwhile**—resuming the thread of the narrative after his brief digression into allegory. The settlement of the Israelites in Canaan (as we have seen) was the task of Joshua.

Earthly Canaan. The poet would have us dismiss from our minds the *allegorical* sense of the name above referred to.

316. **Dwell and prosper.** This refers to the days immediately after the Conquest.

But when = except when.

319. **Saves them penitent**, i. e., when they called upon God in their troubles.

320. **By judges first.** A series of rulers, beginning with Othniel (Joshua's successor), and ending with Samuel (who anointed Saul as King). Their rule extended over 400 years.

Then under kings. Of these the first was Saul (c. 1095 B.C.) and the last Zedekiah, the king of Judah at its capture by Nebuchadnezzar (587 B.C.).

321. **The second. King David.** To him are ascribed most of the Psalms.

For piety renowned and puissant deeds. He was at once a warrior and "a man after God's own heart."

322. **A promise shall receive**, viz., the perpetual sovereignty of his line over the people of Israel. This, like the promise to Abraham, took the form of a covenant. "I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant—thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations". Psalm lxxxix. 3, 4.

324. **Sing.** For the use of this word, see note 1. 244.

329. **To kings foretold of kings the last.** That David's son (the Messiah) would be king for ever should in due time be announced to kings.

337. A long succession, viz., 28 generations. See the opening chapter of the New Testament which consists for the most part of a list of names summed up in the following words:—"So all the generations from Abraham to David are 14 generations; and from David unto the carrying away unto Babylon are 14 generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are 14 generations." *Mathew* i. 17.

332. His (David's) next son, i. e., son and successor, Solomon by name. He was famed alike for his magnificence and his universal knowledge. "He was wiser than all men." i. *Kings* iv. 31. He exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom." *Ib.* x. 23.

333. The clouded ark. See l. 256, "Over the tent a cloud shall rest by day."

334. A glorious temple. This was built on the model of the Tabernacle, the copy^u being exactly double the size of the original. It was situated on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, and was part of a pile of edifices including the king's palace. Its construction occupied seven years. Most of the woodwork was of cedar (hence perhaps the slip noticed at l. 250). At its dedication (a ceremony which lasted 14 days) we are told that "fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifices"—what the poet imagines took place when Abel offered his lamb.

335. Registered. . Recorded in scripture (as).

339. Part good, part bad. The proportion of good kings to bad was about one to two in Judah; but the record of the kings of Israel, who had their capital in Samaria, is uniformly bad. They neglected the temple in Jerusalem and worshipped foreign gods.

338. Heaped to the popular sum—the sins of the kings added to those of their subjects.

Incense. Kindle, rouse, enrage (Latin *incendere*).

341. *A scorn and pray to.....Babylon. (Hendiadys). This refers to the destruction of the temple in the year 587 B.C. when Nebuchadnezzar carried off all its treasures to Babylon (as the Greeks called Babel). The etymology[†] suggested in the text (repeated from l. 62) is that of the writer of *Genesis* (xi. 9).

*The deportation of a conquered people right from one end of its dominions to another was a regular part of the policy of Assyria and the empires that succeeded it. Assimilation to the ruling race was the main object contemplated—an object which cannot be said to have been attained in the case of the Jews, who stubbornly preserved their nationality.

† Driver in his *Commentary* says that this etymology is incorrect; for this name is written in the inscriptions in a manner which shews clearly that it signifies "gate of God" (Bab II) and cannot be derived from the Heb. *babil*, to mix, confuse. It is simply a popular etymology, which lent itself conveniently to the purpose which the narrator had in hand.

The exact age of this famous city is unknown. But we are told that Sumu-abi, the founder of the first dynasty, lived about 2400 B. C.

345. In captivity the space of seventy years. This is the second time in the history of this people that they become the subjects of an alien race and live in a foreign soil. It was exile rather than captivity, for their position was that of colonists rather than slaves.

345—385. The Persian monarch, having overthrown the Babylonians, releases the Israelites from captivity, both he and his successor giving them help and encouragement to rebuild the fallen temple of Jerusalem. In these "post-exilio" days, the Israelites are first under the rule of priests, latterly these aspire to kingship. And thus a monarchy is once more set up—but not in the line of David—and so it comes to pass that Jesus, to whom the story has now come down, is born not in a palace but in a stable! The Messiah's life and work and his victory over death and Satan are passed by in very rapid survey.

345. Then brings them back under Cyrus, the Persian king, who obtained possession of Babylon (by stratagem, not by the sword) in 539 B. C. He made this city one of the capitals of the Persian Empire, the others being Susa and Ecbatana. In 537 B. C. Cyrus issued his famous decree for the return of the exiles to Jerusalem.

346. Covenant sworn. The promise of l. 322 above.

347. Stablished as the days of Heaven=never to be revoked, everlasting.

348. By leave of kings.....the house of God...re-edify. The plural Kings is a surprising instance of accuracy. The re-building of the temple was started by leave (or rather by command) of Cyrus, who was so friendly to the Jews that he restored the sacred vessels taken away by Nebuchadnessar. Owing to the hostility of neighbours the re-building of the temple was interrupted for many years, and not resumed till after the death of Cyrus. Darius succeeding to the throne in 521 B. C., issued a decree to the effect that the building should be completed.

This is no doubt what was in Milton's mind when he wrote Kings.

350. In mean estate. There now comes a long period during which the Jews play no independent part in history. Their country is at peace as long as it is under the suzerainty of Persia, but after the empire has passed away they are exposed to interference from their more powerful neighbours. But this period, if one of subjection, was a time of "moderation," i.e. from the point of view of religion it was a silver age.

352. **Faction they grow.** Parties grow up in the state : these are both religious and political.

353. **Among the priests dissensions spring.** Rivalry springs up for the office of High Priest, in whose hands was vested the administration of the country. Menelaus, e. g., attempted to wrest the high-priestly office from Jason (many Jews then affected Greek names). Antiochus Epiphanes at this time exercised suzerainty over the Jews and Menelaus by bribing this execrable ruler was able to wrest the coveted office from its occupant. When Jason attempted to regain his position, Antiochus marched against Jerusalem on the pretext that it had revolted against his authority and cruelly massacred the inhabitants.

356. **They seize.** The high-priestly family. The first to assume the kingly title was Aristobulus (106 B. C.)

357. **David's sons.** Their names may be found in the genealogical table in the first chapter of Matthew (vv, 12 to 16). Of few of them has history any record.

358. **Lose it to a stranger.** In 63 B. C. Jerusalem having fallen before the legions of Pompey, for a time the high priestly family ruled in the name of the Romans; but in 40 B. C. an Idumean prince obtained the sovereignty. This was Herod the Great, famous in connection with the story of the massacre of the infants at Bethelhem.

360. **Barred of his right** i.e. the promise made to David and his descendants. (1. 322)

A star. "We have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him." Matthew ii. 1.

362. **Eastern sages.** The magi, or wise men from the east, who inquired of the inhabitants of Jerusalem concerning the birth-place of his who was born King of the Jews. On discovering the infant (by the help of their star), "they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense and myrrh."

364. **His place** i. e. where he should be born; viz. Bethlehem.

A solemn Angel. Complementary to the story of the wise men in the First Gospel, we have in the Third that of the shepherds. "And there were...shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night."

366. **They gladly hither** (i.e. to his place) hasten).

A quire of squadroned angels. "A multitude of the heavenly host." Luke ii. 13.

367. **His carol.** This seems to refer to the song heard in the fields ("Glory to god in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men"); but Milton shifts the scene to the inn.

368. **A virgin.** Mary, betrothed to Joseph.

His sire the Power of the Most High. Cf. the angel's announcement to Mary: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." Luke i. 35.

369. He shall ascend the throne hereditary. "And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David." Luke i. 32.

370. Bound his reign with Earth's wide bounds. Earth's limits will be the only limits to his dominions—the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham: "In thee (sc. in thy seed) shall all families of the earth be blessed."

374. The vent of words. He needed such an outlet for his emotions.

Breathed = whispered.

375. Finisher of utmost hopes. Michael's narration has more than answered Adam's highest hopes—he sees that the evil brought into the world by his sin shall be fully atoned for.

377. Have searched in vain. Already at the end of bk. x. (l. 1033), we saw his mind working upon the subject and his conjecture was not wide of the mark.

379. Virgin mother, hail! Luke i. 28.

382. So God with man unites. "Perfect God and perfect man." *Athanasian Creed*.

383. Capital bruise. i. e., wound on the head. (*Latiu caput, capitalis*.)

384. Mortal pain = the pain that accompanies dying. Where and when? Adam expects to hear of some passage of arms, as between two armed combatants.

386-478. The section we have now reached forms the acme of the whole poem. It deals with the fulfilment of the prophesy regarding the bruising of the Serpent's head by him who had been promised as man's Deliverer. This (as it turns out) has nothing to do with the infliction of local wounds—the language referring to the "head" and the "heel" being only a figure. The ancient prophesy foreshadowed a far more glorious and more momentous event than a hand-to-hand encounter viz., the destruction of sin and the annulment of the sentence of death pronounced on disobedience. Jesus, the Son of God, in the act of vanquishing Man's foe will bring deliverance to all who in time to come shall put their trust in him. His victory over death is the first defeat to be experienced by Satan, whose final overthrow is still in the future. Before that event the faith of Christ must be preached through the world, not (as in the N. T.) to sinners but to righteous persons of all nations. Then will take place the ascen-

sion of the Son into glory, and simultaneously the utter overthrow of Satan, the Prince of the Air as well as of Hell. Thereafter will come to pass the judgment of wicked men and the reward of the righteous. For the everlasting residence of the saints there will be established a new Heaven and a new Earth.*

387. Head or heel. Cf. x. 181 :—

Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.

388. Not therefore, etc., not for this reason, that he may have more physical force.

391. Fall from Heaven. The act of falling was graphically described in bk. vi. 864-879.

A deadlier bruise (than a "local wound").

392. Thy death's wound. The language here, of course, is metaphorical. Michael is referring to the Fall and its consequences.

393. Recure. Cure, remedy. The reduplication conveys the idea of completeness.

394. His works in thee=the power, that sin possesses over thee.

Obedience and suffering death. Here are two conditions to be fulfilled before Christ, the "second Adam" (xi. 384) can step into the place of the first Adam; (1) obedience, the want of which was the cause of the Fall, (2) the suffering of death as the penalty incurred by it.

401. High justice rest appaid.† Appaid is an old form of *appeased*. (To "pay" means to "pacify").

404. Though love alone fulfil the law. Rom. xii. 10.

Thy punishment. The penalty of death. l. 398.

* *The rest is silence.* It is a pleasing picture so long as one only considers one side of it, but an attitude of callous indifference as to the fate of the lost is contrary alike to the teaching and the temper of him, who was emphatically the friend of the sinners and the abandoned. Our interpretations of very difficult apocalyptic passages in the N. T. must not be in contradiction to the spirit and tenor of simpler parts of the revelation that plainly unfold to us God as one whose name is Love, and who "hateth nothing that he hath made."

† The idea of Christ's sacrificial death being in some sense a "payment" has been immensely expanded by speculative minds, and some strangely contrasted positions have been reached. Some have taught that the payment was made to Satan; others that it was made to God; others again have been of the opinion that while figurative language may help the understanding, it ought not to be pressed too far; and this perhaps is most in accordance with the spirit of the N. T.

406. **Cursed death.** "Cursed is everyone that hangeth upon a tree." Galatians iii. 13. Remembering this saying from the O. T. and applying it to cross, St. Paul wrote: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us."

410. This is a very obscure, probably a corrupt line. Verity thinks we must alter *works* to *work* (the verb); but even then (as he admits) the passage is open to serious objection.

412. **Seized on by force.** This was so, and yet it is also true that he gives himself up voluntarily. "Judas then having received a band of men and officers...cometh with lanterns and torches and weapons. Jesus therefore...went forth, and said unto them, "Whom seek ye?...I have told you that I am he: if therefore ye seek me, let these [the disciples] go their way." John xviii. 38.

415. **But to the cross he nails thy enemies.** This alludes to Col. ii. 14. "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, he took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross."*

Enemies refers to two things (1) the broken covenant and (2) the sins of mankind that broke it.

420. **Soon revives.** "On the third day he rose from the dead." **Death over him,** etc. Milton is thinking of such verses as the following which account for the event that took place on the third morning. (1) "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." Acts ii. 24; (2) "I lay it [my life] down of myself: I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again". John x. 18.†

421. **Ere the third dawning light return, the stars.** This is not only beautiful, but accurate. It was "when it was yet dark" (John xx. 1) that the discovery was made that the stone had been rolled away and the tomb empty. **Ransom.** "Christ's gift of himself in the redemption of men." (See note, x. 61.)

425. **His death for man—equivalent to ransom.** (After redeems in l. 424 there ought not to be a full stop, but a comma.)

427. **Faith not void of works.** "Faith, if it hath not works is dead, being alone." James ii. 17.

*"It has been supposed that in some cities the abrogation of a decree was signified by running a nail through it and hanging it up in public." (Lightfoot). This or something similar seems to be in the sacred writer's mind and figuratively applied.

† The older commentators followed by Keightley and Verity in illustration of passage only quote Romans vi. 9 "Death hath no more dominion over him" but this text refers, as will be seen from its context, to Christ *after he is risen* not (as Milton here does) to Jesus now in the tomb.

428. Annuls thy doom. Cancels thy sentence. This...act. Christ's rising from the dead. In spite of Michael's admonition to Adam: "Dream not their fight a duel" etc., the lines that follow read remarkably like the description of a physical encounter. But it can be interpreted symbolically.

433. The bruise on the head is naturally more painful than the bruise on the heel. The latter refers to Jesus' *temporal* (=temporary) death.

434. A death like sleep. Their death is like their Master's inasmuch as theirs also is followed by a resurrection. It is a death from which one awakes. It is better that there should be no hyphen (as in our text) connecting death and like.

437. Certain times. A period of 40 days.

439. To them as a body, not to one e.g. Peter as if he stood above the rest.

442. Profluent stream. Running water, (such as the Jordan, where the rite of baptism was first celebrated).

445. I. e. martyrdom.

449. Sons of Abraham's faith. This reads as if they were to preach only to "the righteous", not to "call sinners to repentance."

451. Heaven of Heavens. The highest Heaven. The Jews believed in an ascending series of Heavens, seven in all.

Ascend with victory. The ascension has what might be called its apocryphal side. It is this that Milton here describes, but with only the faintest scriptural authority. Satan is called "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2) and the ascending Christ is here supposed to overthrow him just after His parting from the disciples on Mt. Olivet. Having dragged him down to Hell and there left him bound, He proceeds on His way to Heaven.

This is Milton's final word on the subject of Satan, by many styled the "hero" of Milton's epic. He is "confounded" when we have our last view of him—he was "confounded" when we had our first view of him on the burning lake (bk. 1. 53).

His realm. This seems to refer to Hell; but there is a certain ambiguity in the expression, seeing that Satan is also Prince of air.

456. Resume...right hand. (See x. 64.)

"The right hand of power", as it is called in Mark xiv. 62.

World's dissolution. The world cursed by the Fall, which as we have seen was a "cosmic event," (Introduction, xxix.) is hastening to destruction, and on its ruins will be built a new Heaven and Earth.

460. Quick and dead = those who are alive and those who have died.

461. Judge the unfaithful = sentence the unbelieving.

463. Then the Earth, etc. A new Heaven and Earth are already assumed. How they will come into being is stated below (l. 547).

465. Than this (place) of Eden. "Than this Eden (which you are now to lose). A word of consolation.

467. Paused...period. He has carried his story to the extreme limit of time, and—a point having been reached where perfect happiness has been attained—there is no more to be told.

469-471. These ten lines form the climax of Paradise Lost. If we grant all his premises the poet may now be said to have "justified the ways of God to men." See the remarks introductory to the present book.

473. Light out of darkness. The reference is to the Divine fiat whereby light was created amid the waste and void of the primal darkness. "And God said 'Let there be light,' and there was light." Genesis i. 2.

This creative act was not more wonderful than the manner in which good is shown to be the "final goal of ill" in Michael's revelation of God's ways to men.

475. Rejoice much more. Because Christ has accomplished much more than merely to remedy the Fall. "Where sin abounded, grace has much more abounded" (Romans v. 20).*

480. Must re-ascend. "It is expedient for me that I go away from you." John xvi. 7.

479-561. A digression follows which serves two purposes, (1) that an opportunity may be afforded for the mention of the Paraclete (or Comforter) and (2) that Milton may speak strongly on the corruption in the church—the subject he felt most strongly about and which more than any other occupied his pen during his twenty years of pamphleteering.

486. A comforter. His coming was foretold to the disciples on the night of the Passover.

The promise of the father. "And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you." Luke xxiv. 49.

Shall dwell, his Spirit within you. "The Spirit of truth... dwelleth with you and shall be in you." John xiv. 17.

* In this spirit St. Augustine, speaking of Adam's transgression, exclaimed *Beata Culpa* (Blessed fault). Of the words of Bishop Ken:—

What Adam did amiss
Turned to our endless bliss:
O happy sin, which to atone,
Drew Filial God to leave His throne.

488. The law of faith working through love. "Faith which worketh by love." Galatians v. 6.

489. Upon their hearts shall write. "I will put my law into their minds, and write them in their hearts." Hebrews viii. 10.

490. To guide them in all truth. "When he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth." John xvi. 13.

Arm with Spiritual armour. "Put on the whole armour of God." Ephesians vi. 11. Quench his fiery darts. "Above all, taking the shield of faith, whereby ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked." ib. 16.

493. Not afraid. See Psalm lvi. 11.

494. Though (they threaten) to the death.

495. Inward consolations. The beatitudes. Matthew v. 3-12.

496. Supported. See e.g. 2 Timothy iv. 16, 17.

498. First on his apostles. On the day of Pentecost. Acts ii. 4.

499. Then (poured) on all baptis'd. Acts ii. 38.

501. To speak all tongues, and do all miracles. There were "diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit." Thus St. Paul asks "Are all workers of miracles? Do all speak with tongues?" (1 Corinthians ix.)

507. They die, i. e., the first and second generations of Christians. Their doctrine (the Epistles) and their story (Gospels and Acts) written down.

508. Wolves shall succeed for teachers. Milton's view of church history is coloured by his strong polemical bias. The metaphor of the wolves is borrowed from Acts xx. 29. "For I Paul know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock."

The charges here brought against the church leaders are like those in *Lycidas*, viz. avarice, worldly ambition, and false teaching. But the manner in which St. Peter was there introduced (with his mitred locks and massy keys) shows that Milton had no quarrel in 1637 with true bishops, only with such as he thought false ones. See Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, Lecture i.

516. Join secular power. Two quotations will make Milton's position clear (1) "The civil power has dominion only over the body and external faculties of man," *Christian Doctrine* xxxii. "Christ hath a government of his own...It deals only with the inward man and his actions which are spiritual, and to outward force not liable." *Reason of Church Government*.

518. Appropriating the Spirit of God. Milton demurs to any church claiming the monopoly of the Spirit's gifts, and least of all, a worldly church.

523. Enrolled...engrave. Laws which are neither in scripture nor "written on the heart." (l. 489).

525. His consort Liberty. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty." 2 Cor. iii. 17.

526. His living temples. This idea is found in two forms in the N. T. (1) Individual Christians are temples. "What! know you not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?" (2) The Church as a whole is a temple, its members being parts of the building. "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." 1 Peter ii. 5.

528. Their own faith, not another's. "Hast thou faith? Have it to thyself before God." Romans xiv. 22. Milton scorns the idea of religion by proxy.*

532. The worship...of spirit and truth. This alludes to John iv. 24. "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." •

534. Outward rites and specious forms (at least from Milton's point of view) are hardly to be distinguished.

535. Truth shall retire bestuck etc. "The way of truth shall be evil spoken of." 2 Peter ii. 2.

539. Under her own weight groaning. "For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together." Romans viii. 22.

That the blind poet includes his own times in this description of the degenerate days of the church is pathetically obvious. We are reminded of the famous passage in bk. vii. (l. 25.)

Though fallen on evil days;
On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues;
In darkness and with dangers compassed round!

540. The day...of respiration. We here return to the second coming of Christ, already referred to at l. 458. Respiration—for the just will cease to be harassed by their enemies and will be able to breathe freely.

543-5. Observe the three notes of time:—

- (1) Then, i. e. when judgment was pronounced. See x. 181.
- (2) Now, having heard these revelations from Michael's mouth.
- (3) Last, when "the world's great period" will be ushered in.

* Nor does he confine his strictures to any one camp. "There is not any burden that some would gladlyer post off to another than the charge and care of their religion. There be, who knows not that there be, of Protestants and professors who live and die in as arrant an implicit faith as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasures and to his profits...resolves to give over tolling and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs." *Areopagitica*.

546. To dissolve Satan, with his perverted world. In 2 Peter (iii. 12) we read of the coming of the day "wherein the heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat." Observe that Milton in the general destruction includes Satan, Prince of this world.

548. The conflagration. The final conflagration is spoken of in the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* as "the destruction of the present unclean and polluted world." Milton is doubtful "whether by this is meant the destruction of the substance of the world itself, or only a change in the nature of its constituent parts"—a point he says "of no importance to determine." Ch. xxxiii.

549. Cf. l. 463.

552-649. Overcome with gratitude, Adam thanks the archangel for his words of instruction and consolation. Michael proceeds to show him how he may, by a life answerable to the knowledge now attained, enjoy a Paradise in his breast—when a sudden signal precipitates their descent from the mountain. Adam, on coming to Eve's bower, finds her awake and ready for departure. The angel hastens their lingering footsteps and does not leave them till they have passed through the gate of the garden and reached the plain beneath. "Hand in hand" and with tearful eyes, they journey slowly onward, heedless in what direction their aimless steps shall take them. It is all so simple that the infinite pathos of it is often missed.

553. Thy prediction...measured. Adam here refers to the whole course of Michael's narration, extending from the sacrifice of Abel to the second coming of Christ. From first to last it has all been of the nature of a prediction, a foretelling of future things.

555. Abyss. Literally "unfathomable space", but here used figuratively for "immeasurable time" (=eternity).

557. Greatly instructed. Adam wishes to thank Michael for all the instruction it has been his privilege, to receive.

559. This vessel. "A person regarded as receiving or containing something." The word indicates that Michael has had a receptive hearer.

560. Beyond which (it) was...He refers to those forbidden paths of knowledge of which his experience has been so bitter.

561. To obey is best. He unfeignedly repents of his "first disobedience."

562. (To) love with fear (of offending)...is best^h

565. "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." Romans xii. 21.^j

566-71. Observe the series of contrasts between—(1) good and evil; (2) small and great; (3) wise and meek; (4) suffering and fortitude; (5) death and life. These paradoxes (as they might be called) of the religious life had been brought home to Adam

as he listened to the closing words of Michael's discourse. The kingdom of which he had been hearing was a kingdom that "conquered by suffering, advanced by retiring."

576. The sum of wisdom—what philosophy terms the *summum bonum*, the most desirable of ends. Michael holds this to be wisdom, and it is required that a man's life answers to his attainments in it. Wisdom is set over against (1) natural knowledge (including astronomy, mineralogy, etc.), (2), divine knowledge, (3) wealth, and (4) empire.

581. Only add...Cf. "If ye know these things happy are ye if ye do them." John xiii. 17.

584. The soul of all the rest : because love is the "fulfilling of the law."

587. A paradise within thee. A good conscience. That "the mind is its own place, and in itself, can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven" was a saying of Satan whereby he sought to console himself for the loss of "those happy fields, where joy for ever dwells." Here Michael gives the idea a different turn and applies it to administer consolation to Adam on the eve of his banishment.

588. This top of speculation. This hill-top of observation. *Speculatio* (in Latin)=spying out, observation. The word has long lost its original sense of "examination by the eye" and has come to mean (as here) "examination by the mind."

590. Exacts. Demands. Michael is under very strict military orders.

592. A flaming sword in signal of (your) remove (=removal, expulsion). According to Genesis (iii. 24) our first parents are driven out, and *then* the flaming sword is placed in the east of the garden to guard the tree of life. Milton apparently understands the flaming sword as a sort of military signal marking the limit of time beyond which Adam and Eve must not stay in Paradise.

596. All her spirits composed. Cf. with this Adam's peace of mind (l. 558) resulting from the angel's discourse. Eve is equally resigned to the loss of Eden.

599. Her faith. Her power of understanding spiritual things.

601. For (the deliverance is to come) by the woman's Seed. A remarkable ellipse.

602. Many days. "All the days that Adam lived were 930 years." Genesis v. Eve's age is not recorded.

604. With cause=as you have good reason to be. (Litotes). This qualifies in some degree Adam's previous optimism. (l. 473):

Full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done or occasioned.

607. (Having) descended, Adam...ran before (the angel). He finds her awake, but in the *Argument* (p. 67) it is stated that he "wakens Eve." It is pleasing to read of his outrunning the archangel in his eagerness to tell his wife of all that he has just seen and heard.

610. Whence thou returnest, and whither wentest. A curious poetical inversion.

611. And dreams advise. "The fact that all or most men suppose some significance in dreams constitutes a ground for believing that the supposition is based on experience." Aristotle, *Divination by Dreams*.

615. With thee to go is to stay here, etc. i.e. he is all her Paradise (just as she is all his)—words which remind us of the heroine of the *Ramayana*.

619. My wilful crime. This is not the first (nor the second) time Eve has taken on herself all the blame. See e. g. x. 952, and xi. 168.

626. The other hill (xi. 210). It was to the west of Paradise.

627. Station, in the military sense of a "rendezvous of troops."

629. Gliding meteorous. A meteor is (properly speaking) something "high in air," "raised off the ground." The word is applied to shooting stars and fireballs, the latter being here most in point.

Ancient poets supposed that gods were recognizable by their gliding gait—Milton applies the idea to his angels.

As evening mist. A second simile blended with the first. This comparison, however, has untoward associations to readers of earlier books of *Paradise Lost* as it was used to describe Satan in the act of reconnoitring the garden—"through each thicket dank or dry like a black mist low creeping." (ix. 180.)

630. Marish, the old form of marsh.

632. Advanced=lifted, raised. The idea is not of forward but of upward motion. Cf.

Ten thousand ensigns high *advanced* (v. 588).

633. Brandished. "Waving fiercely round." *Brandish* is connected with *brand* meaning a sword. Cf. l. 643.

634. Fierce as a comet. This reminds us of the comet in bk. ii. that "from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war." (l. 708).

635. Libyan air adust. Libya is the northern part of Africa (including the Sahara) and is sometimes used for Africa generally. *Adust*=scorched, parched. (Latin *adustus*, from *aduro*=scorch, burn on the surface). These similes are more fully discussed in Appendix II. (p. 207).

637. In either hand. This is in allusion to the manner in which the angels conducted Lot and his family out of Sodom. See Genesis xix. 16.

640. Subjected = lying under, bordering (Latin *subjectus*).

641. Looking back. There was (happily) no warning in this case not to look back. Lot's wife, for looking back upon Sodom, became a pillar of salt.

643. The gate. In the Bible no gates are mentioned in connection with the garden. In Milton, an eastern gate is spoken of and a western is implied.

643. Brand = a piece of flaming wood. A sword blade is called a brand from its flashing.

644. With dreadful faces, etc. These are the faces of the cherubim. This is one of the most powerful lines in the poem.

645. Natural tears. An instance of transferred epithet—it is the shedding of them that is natural, not the tears. But their grief is no longer unrestrained, as it was when their banishment was first announced to them.

646. The world was all before them. They could go wherever they chose—east or west, north or south.

647. Providence their guide—and Adam has learnt “ever to observe his [God's] Providence; and on him sole depend.” Let us remember that Heaven's benediction rests upon them as they proceed to the lower world.

648. They hand in hand, etc. These are certainly among the most beautiful lines in the poem, though their propriety has been challenged. Addison was for ending at l. 647. Bentley wanted to substitute a couplet of his own. Observe—

(1) They go forth hand in hand—and they were never more united in heart than they are at this moment.

(2) Their steps are wandering—they have no fixed destination as they betake themselves into the wide, wide world.

(3) Their steps are slow—they are in no hurry to leave the delightful neighbourhood of Paradise.

649. Through Eden. Eden (it need hardly be said) is the country in which Paradise was situated and is not identical with Paradise (though the word is not unfrequently employed in this more restricted sense). See Genesis ii. 8.

APPENDIX I.

COSMOLOGY OF PARADISE LOST.

A KNOWLEDGE of this subject is a considerable help to the study of the TENTH BOOK, for one of the outstanding features of this book is that it carries the reader backwards and forwards (or rather upwards and downwards) from one extremity of Milton's universe to another, till on finishing its perusal he discovers he has paid a visit (albeit perhaps a flying one) to each of the regions indicated on the map or plan of the poem.

Thus we find that we are carried (more than once in this book) up to the HEAVEN of HEAVENS where we are permitted with the unfallen angels to take our stand before the dazzling brightness of the throne of God. Then presently we are carried down to the remotest recesses ("far to the inland" x. 423) of HELL, where we discover ourselves among the lost angels gathered in their hall of Pandemonium, solicitous about the safety of their Chief, who has gone abroad in quest of a NEW WORLD in whose denizens he and they are very keenly interested. Or again, between these widely sundered regions of Hell and Heaven, the poet's imagination carries us through the "unreal" (x. 471) and hardly imaginable world of CHAOS, where we witness the construction of the causeway which stretches from the gates of Hell upwards to the "outside bare" of that new sphere of existence which Satan (notwithstanding his followers' misgivings) already regards as part of his own domains!

All that part of the "cosmology" that deals with HEAVEN, CHAOS and HELL is entirely Milton's own and is peculiar to *Paradise Lost*—while in his description of the WORLD or mundane universe (what we commonly call the cosmos) he is content to follow in the footsteps of those who had gone before him.

The word *kosmos* in Greek signifies (1) order, harmony; (2) the world considered as a harmonious and orderly system. As there are things in Milton's scheme (to wit, Chaos and Hell) that obviously cannot be regarded as integral parts of a harmonious or concordant whole, it must be admitted that words like "cosmology" and "cosmography" though sanctioned by usage, are not sufficiently comprehensive when employed in connection with *Paradise Lost*.

No one to-day would question the fact that Milton's poem has a distinctive cosmological system all its own; but early commentators, failing to recognise the existence of such a system, fell into absurd mistakes in consequence. The importance of this subject therefore cannot be overrated.

No one who ignores it can ever hope to understand the groundwork or plan of Milton's great epic. It faces the beginner at the outset, and must be taken as seriously as the famous fifth proposition (the "asses' bridge") in the first book of Euclid when one is beginning the study of geometry.

Milton (whatever were his private convictions), was content for the purposes of his poem, to accept the old cosmology (commonly styled the Ptolemaic). According to this, the Earth is a fixed body and the stars and planets (including sun and moon), its satellites. The Earth was in short the central point of the entire universe; and the universe was regarded not as something boundless and infinite, but as finite and strictly circumscribed.

Perhaps in this last circumstance is to be sought the main attraction for Milton of this obsolete system. Into the universe of modern thought "whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere" it is difficult to see how he could have fitted the transcendental parts of his scheme: in other words the regions of HEAVEN, CHAOS and HELL. How these are related to each other and to the mundane universe is the purpose of this note to explain.

An excellent means of getting a clear conception of this immense scheme is to acquaint oneself with the series of diagrams here reproduced.*

Such figures are to be taken but as symbols, for at most they merely show the mutual relations of the several parts of the scheme; neither giving us their shapes or outlines, nor conveying any information about their relative sizes or distances. Taken as a series, however, they will serve a double purpose, inasmuch as they will initiate the beginner into the *chronology* as well as the cosmology of the poem. •

Fig. 1. shows us the earliest condition of things the poet knows anything about. It will be seen that two regions only are here

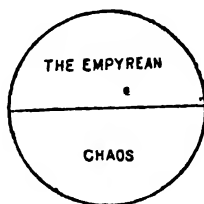


Fig. 1.

* The idea of employing these geometrical figures is Professor Masson's. He says he derived it from the Italian commentaries on Dante—a poet whose cosmology—

shown, viz. HEAVEN and CHAOS. The former is a place of radiant light and splendour, the latter of confusion and darkness. The angels are still uncontaminated by sin but are already organized according to their ranks—i. e. "each in his hierarchy" (l. 717)—a mediæval fancy.

How all the fair harmony of Heaven was broken forms part of Raphael's narrative in book v. A day comes round, "such a day as Heaven's great year brings forth," when all the inhabitants of Heaven are summoned before the Almighty, and hear a decree requiring them to acknowledge as their lord and superior the son of God, that day begotten. Nothing could be harsher or more exasperating than the manner in which this new order of things is introduced—almost challenging and inviting opposition. It is hard to believe that Satan in resisting the new decree has not Milton's moral support.*

Feelings of pride and envy (or self-esteem and independence) taking possession of Satan, he forms his great conspiracy, which leads to the war in heaven and the overthrow of the rebels. A place of punishment is prepared for these on the nether side of Chaos. This is exhibited in Fig. 2 and is "a kind of Antarctic region distinct from the body of Chaos proper." This then is the origin of HELL.

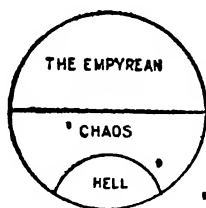


Fig. 2.

And now to fill up their vacant room (for their very names are forgotten in Heaven), the new race of mankind is called into

though less bold—bears some resemblance to that of his English compeer. The diagrams here given are substantially those that appeared in Masson's edition of Milton's poems, published in 1874.

*That Satan is the hero of the poem (one of the most disputed points in connection with *Paradise Lost*) is an opinion in which Dryden and Professor Masson are in agreement. The form of government he set up in Hell was a republic and therefore such as Milton would have approved of, while that of Heaven was unlimited monarchy—that against which he had fought so hard

being, which demands a further modification of the map of existence. These "upstarts" as Satan indignantly styles them, have a place assigned them "in the purlieus of Heaven" for they cannot be admitted all at once into the Empyrean—

Lest Heaven, surcharged with potent multitude,
Might hap to breed new broils.

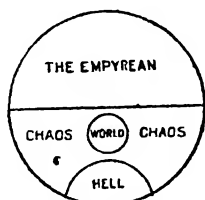


Fig. 3.

The site of the New World designed for their habitation is shown in Fig. 3, viz. the tiny circle just beneath the Empyrean, with Chaos enveloping it all round. It is hung from above by a golden chain, much in the manner in which a small gem is sometimes suspended from a larger one. In a celebrated passage it is described as—

This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude, close by the moon.

Thus if we would gain a right idea as to the relative dimensions of the Empyrean and the universe we have mentally to compare the size of the moon's disk with that of a star of the sixth magnitude!

Addison admired this passage, but he strangely misinterpreted it. "The description of the *Earth*" (he says) "that hung close by the moon is one of the most wonderfully beautiful and poetical passages of the whole poem." But of course this "star of smallest magnitude" represents *not* this tiny earth of ours, but the whole mupdane universe, the "firmament...with all her numbered stars"—compared with which our planet is but "a spot, a grain, an atom." (See the opening lines of bk. vii.)

Fig. 4. is an enlargement of the little circle of Fig. 3. But the point of observation is different. The former figures have given us

vertical sections, but Fig. 4. gives us a *horizontal* (i.e. an equatorial) section.

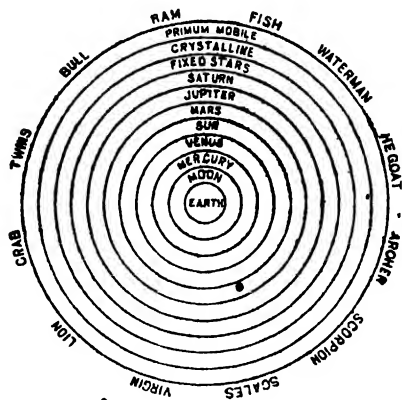


Fig. 4.

It is as if we were standing near the zenith on the "outside bare" of the New World and peering through its opening down into the interior.

From this great point of vantage (to one endowed with an angel's powers of vision) the whole mundane system would be visible as Milton saw it with his mind's eye, as an arrangement of concentric spheres, enclosing each its own heavenly body and carrying it round in rapid motion, the Earth being at rest in the centre of all. The seven spheres next to the earth were held to be occupied by the seven planets (moon and sun being counted as such) while the eighth was that of the fixed stars, sometimes spoken of by Milton as "the fixed."

* Such is an outline of the Ptolemaic cosmology, as old as the second century A.D. In the thirteenth century a ninth and a tenth sphere were added to the system by the celebrated Alfonso X. of Spain (surnamed the Astronomer). These new spheres were the "crystalline" and that known as the "first moved" [primam mobile]. The last was composed of solid material, serving the purpose of a shell or hard exterior for the protection of the inside from the furious assaults of the surrounding region of Chaos. It derived its name from its being supposed to supply the momentum that carried round the inner spheres with their respective orbits. These spheres were conceived as invisible or translucent space.

To return to our diagram. This (as we have seen) exhibits the spectacle that would meet the observer's eye as he looked down from the apex of the universe, but in place of the transpicuous spheres he would see the heavenly bodies themselves in their swift revolutions round the motionless earth.

If we suppose Fig. 4 to represent the universe as it came fresh from the Creator's hands, the concentric circles will show the paths of the heavenly bodies (or at least the plane) in which they originally moved, for at first, according to Milton, they moved in the line of the equator. It was in consequence of the derangement of things caused by man's Fall that they were driven from this path into that of the ecliptic which they henceforth pursued.

APPENDIX II.

SIMILES IN BOOKS X. XI. XII.

Most of these are in bk. x, and introduced mainly in connection with (1) the doings of Sin and Death, and (2) the fallen angels transformed into serpents. Those in bk. xi group themselves mainly round the description of Michael and his cherubic band. Michael's discourse to Adam contains some powerful metaphors, but is too concise for the introduction of these other "flowers of language"—the whole tone of his narrative being that of one who is "bent on speed." (xii. 2) One or two very striking ones may be found in bk. xii. just before the poem closes.

As when a flock, &c. x. 273.

Death scents "the smell of mortal change on earth," just as ravenous fowl (i. e. vultures) are said to anticipate a coming battle, flying from very great distances to the destined field of slaughter.

As when two polar winds, &c. x. 294.

Sin and Death, gathering together materials to be employed in the construction of their causeway, are likened to two winds blowing from opposite directions upon what is now called the Berhing Sea (connecting the Arctic and the North Pacific) and heaping up between them those mountains of ice that obstruct navigation.

The aggregated soil, &c. x. 294. The materials for the causeway are fastened down as firmly to the foundations of Chaos as Delos (once a wandering isle) was fastened down before Apollo was born upon it.

So...Xerxes...Europe with Asia joined. x. 306.

This is indeed "to compare great things with small"—viz., the mighty causeway connecting Hell and the New World with Xerxes's bridge of boats over the Hellespont, which allowed the soldiers to march from Asia into Europe.

As when the Tartar, &c. x. 431.

We have here a pair of similes; one taken from the wars between Russians and Tartars, the other from those between Turks and Persians. As the Tartar retires before the Russian, and the Sophi before the Turk, in either case leaving their frontiers waste and desolate: so the Stygian troops by collecting in the neighbourhood of Pandemonium leave the frontiers of Hell ("utmost Hell") desolate behind them.

Not so thick swarmed once the soil, &c. x. 526.

A comparison is here drawn between the metamorphosed angels as they crawled about the hall of Pandemonium, and (1) the snakes that infested the soil of Libya after it had been sprinkled with blood from the head of Medusa, (each drop of which was changed into a reptile); and (2) the snakes that infested the small island called Ophiusa (*Latin* Colubraria).

Up the trees climbing, sat thicker. &c. x. 558

This is a striking, one might say almost a gruesome picture. Like some other great poets (and may we not include Coleridge?) Milton feels a strange fascination about the tribe of reptiles, creatures which combine in themselves beauty and repulsiveness in almost equal degree.

As he sees in his mind's eye the transformed angels swarming upon the branches of the grove in quest of the fruit, the poet is reminded of the fearful figure of Megaera, the Fury whose hair was intertwined with serpents.

The Sun, as from Thyestian banquet, &c. x. 688.

The eating of the forbidden fruit was in the eyes of the all-seeing Sun a more dreadful banquet than that served up to Thyestes by his brother Atreus. Milton is explaining how the sun was diverted from its original path. He puts forward more than one theory to account for the change.

Yet their port, &c. xi. 8.

Adam and Eve offering their penitential prayers (after their sin has come home to their consciences in all its gravity), are likened to Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha consulting the oracle of Themis.

Four faces each,....all their shape spangled with eyes. xi. 128.

(1) The faces of the cherubim are compared to the faces of Janus (from whom the month of January receives its name); but while the Latin divinity had two faces, the cherubim had each four.

(2) The remainder of their persons is likened to that of Argus the "all seeing," whose hundred eyes (with which he kept guard over Io after she was transformed into a cow), were "spangled" all over his body.

A glorious apparition...not that more glorious. &c. xi. 211.

The above pair of similes described each cherub *individually*. Now the band *collectively* is compared to the apparition of the angels Jacob saw at Mahanaim.

Over his lucid arms, &c. xi, 240. The purple colour of Michael's vest reminds Milton of some of the famous dyes of antiquity, viz. those of Meliboea in Thessaly, and of Sarra (= Tyre).

By his side, &c. xi. 246. Michael's sword-belt is likened to a "zodiac". See Glossary.

Gliding meteorous, as evening mist. xii. 629.

Another of Milton's *pairs* of similes, to describe the easy gliding gait of the band of cherubim. As meteors are *bright* and mist is *dim*, there are here conflicting ideas not easy to reconcile.

The brandish sword of God before them blazed. &c. xii. 633. The apparition of the flaming sword in the sky, and the disastrous effects it has on the climate of Paradise are illustrated by another pair of similes. (1) The sight of it, we may be sure, was awe-inspiring in the highest degree. Therefore the comparison with a comet is peculiarly appropriate. Now-a-days we are able to look with composure upon these heavenly bodies, as visitants (many of them periodical visitants) from the remotest outskirts of the solar system. In earlier times they were regarded with peculiar dread as the surest omens of impending disaster. (2) This brandished sword is a fiercely hot object, and under its baleful beams the pleasant climate of Paradise presently becomes like that of the scorching Sahara.

APPENDIX III.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN BOOK XI.

(385-411).

ADAM surveys one after another the four quarters of the globe, starting from the northern parts of Asia, then passing eastwards and southwards, and lastly crossing over to the new world of America. The following scheme (which strictly observes the poet's order) will show that the names (here given in heavier type) are not put down at random.

I. ASIA.

(1) Tartary(=Central Asia). Two cities are named ; (a) **Cam-balu**, principal city of Cathay, a province of Tartary, formerly ruled over by the Chams and (b) **Samarchand**, the ancient Marachanda, once a great seat of learning and the capital city of Timur about 1570.

(2) China proper. Here is seen **Paquin** (=Pekin) the royal city of the Celestial Empire.

(3) India. **Agra** and **Lahor** (=Lahore), cities of the Great Mogul's Empire.

(4) The East-Indies. The peninsula of Malacca is referred to under the name **golden Chersonese**.

(5) Persia. Mention is made of the former capital **Ecbatan** (=Ecbatana) and a later one **Hispahan** (=Isfahan), a city of 600,000 inhabitants in Milton's time, but now only 60,000.

(6) Russia (considered in Milton's time as part of Asia). **Mosco** (=Moscow) formerly the capital of the Russian Empire, now the second capital. It is still the place of coronation and the seat of the metropolitan.

(7) Turkey. **Bizance** (or Byzantium). The name of this ancient Greek city was changed by Constantine the Great (A. D. 330) to its present one, viz. Constantinople. It was designed to be a "younger Rome" and is built on a spot "which nature itself has destined to be the seat of the empire of two worlds."

II. AFRICA.

(1) Abyssinia (or upper Ethiopia) ruled over by a sovereign styled in the language of the country "Negus"; The principal city is **Ercoco** (=Arkeeko) a seaport on the Red Sea, marking the north-east boundary of the Empire.

(2) (3) (4) (5). **Mombaza** (=Mombasa), **Quiloa** (=Kilwa), **Melind** (=Melinda), and **Sofala**—these are situated in East Africa, on the Indian Ocean. They were all at one time Portuguese possessions. Mombasa and Melinda now belong to British East Africa; Kilwa to German East Africa. Sofala has belonged to the Portuguese since 1505. It has been identified with the **Ophir** of the Bible, from which Solomon's navy at one time fetched 450 talents of gold.

(6) (7). **Congo and Angola**. We have passed over from the eastern to the western coast of Africa. These two kingdoms are well to the south of the **Niger**, which Milton supposes to "divide Negro-land into two parts."

(8) (9) (10) (11) (12) The **Barbary States**, ("a general name for the regions along or near the northern coast of Africa, west of Egypt"). **Fez, Sus, Morocco, Algiers, and Tremisen**. The first two are now included in the third. Fez is the present capital of Morocco, and has a population of 100,000. Algiers includes here the country of Algeria, which has since 1834 been a colonial possession of France.

III. EUROPE.

Italy. Rome, afterwards to become the mistress of the world, is the only place in Europe (proper) mentioned in this description. In the geographical survey corresponding to this one in *Paradise Regained* (bk. iv.) the poet dwells almost exclusively upon this division of the world.

IV. AMERICA.

(1) **Mexico**, the seat of the Aztec warrior Montezume (=Montezuma), who bravely opposed the invasion of his country by the Spaniards under Cortés, as related in the fascinating pages of Prescott's *History of Mexico*. Mexico was conquered in 1521, and remained in possession of Spain for 300 years (till 1821, when the last Spanish viceroy was deposed).

(2) **Peru. Cusco** (=Cuzco) the capital of the Incas, and famous in connection with the Spanish conquest of Peru.

• **Atabalipa** (=Atahualpa), the king of this country was a victim of Spanish treachery and cruelty. The invaders fell upon him and his followers at a friendly interview, and when he was in their power exacted a ransom equal to several millions sterling.

(3) **Guiana**, north of Brazil, between the Orinoco and the Amazon, is now divided into British, Dutch, and French Guiana. **El Dorado** was a fabulous city of great wealth, (or more correctly the name of its ruler).

NOTE.

This long catalogue of names is dwarfed by comparison with the corresponding one in *Paradise Regained*, where Satan, from the Mount of Temptation, exhibits before the eyes of Jesus "the kingdoms of the world and all the glory of them." The passage in the later poem is famous for its wonderful descriptions of—

great and glorious ROME, Queen of the Earth,
So far renowned, and with the spoils enriched
Of nations—

and of

ATHENS the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence—

though we have glimpses of other quarters of the world, of India and the golden Chersonese, and of the isle Taprobane [=Ceylon, *Skt.* Tamraparni] with its—

Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreathed.

APPENDIX IV.

·MICHAEL'S SURVEY OF SACRED HISTORY.

I. The primaeval Period.

1. AFTER the Fall and before the expulsion from the Garden, a promise to Eve (Genesis iii. 15) dimly foreshadows the coming of a Restorer. Michael's discourse might be said to turn upon this promise and its fulfilment.*

2. Cain, angry that his offering was rejected while his brother Abel's was accepted, rose up against him and slew him.

3. The picture of disease and death that forms the second of Michael's "Visions" is difficult to reconcile with the genealogies in Genesis v.—which show us that the lives of these antediluvians averaged about 900 years.

4. Alliances take place between the descendants of Seth ("the sober race of men") and of Cain; for so Milton interprets the statement that "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair: and they took them wives of all which they chose." (Genesis vi. 2).

5. There now follows a period of violence and bloodshed. With this Milton connects the translation of Enoch, who is in middle life snatched from the midst of his enemies in a "cloud descending." xi. 670.

6. When God saw that the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, He instructed Noah to build an ark, into which Noah enters with his family, also the living creatures by sevens and pairs. The wicked are swept away with the flood that pours down from the windows of heaven.

II. The patriarchal Period.

7. Nimrod, king of Babel, "begins to be a mighty one on the earth"; making himself a reputation as a "mighty hunter" (by which Milton understands a tyrant, having read in Josephus that Nimrod say "no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence upon his power").

*"The promise of a Restorer of the human race given at the fall of man is the starting-point of sacred history, and the Old Testament becomes a true introduction to the New, because it reveals the several steps whereby the Divine wisdom provided for the fulfilment of the promise. As originally given it was undoubtedly indefinite. It was not indicated whether the promised seed should be one or many, the collective race or a single deliverer. On these points greater light was shed as time rolled on." *Oxford Bible*.

Milton, (again following Josephus) makes Nimrod the designer of the tower of Babel, at the building of which the confusion of tongues took place.

8. Abram or Abraham* (the first in this catalogue to be mentioned by name) leaves his native place on the Euphrates and journeys to Sechem in the land of Canaan, and later to Moreh (= Mount Moriah on the site of Jerusalem, where Solomon afterwards built his temple).

9. Joseph, a descendant of Abraham, is sold by his brethren as a slave, and carried down into Egypt, where he becomes the second man in the land. A grievous famine compels his father and brethren to abandon Canaan for Egypt. Here they settle and increase rapidly in numbers.

III. The Mosaic Period.

10. After many years of bondage to the Egyptians, the Israelites are delivered by Divine intervention. Ten plagues are inflicted on Pharaoh before he will allow them to leave the country. Moses, their deliverer, leads them through the Wilderness to the foot of Mount Sinai.

11. While dwelling under this mountain, the people receive their national laws—social, political and religious.

12. For 40 years they inhabit the wilderness, the Holy One dwelling with them in his tabernacle (a movable temple), which goes before them in all their journeys.

13. Under Joshua, Moses' successor, the Israelites, who have now become a disciplined army, enter Canaan and wrest it from the tribes in possession.

IV. From the Settlement in Canaan to the Exile.

14. For a period of 400 years the people are ruled by judges. [The most eminent of these was Samson, who is not referred to in Michael's story, though of such special interest to Milton.]

15. Wearied of the judges, the people ask to be ruled over by kings. The first king [Saul] is a man after their own heart; the second, David, is a man after God's own heart, one of the most humane characters in the Bible. What interests Milton in regard to David is God's promise to him concerning a greater King, who should sit upon his throne, and of whose kingdom there should be no end. "David is a great figure in the history of the Promise." The next king [Solomon], though he builds a "glorious temple" in Jerusalem for the reception of the sacred ark, falls himself into heathenism. See *P. L. i. 400*.

*"Through the call of Abraham, the promise is limited to a particular nation of which his family were to be the destined progenitors," *Oxford Bible*.

16. The disruption of the kingdom that followed upon Solomon's death is passed over in silence. The reigns of the ensuing kings of Judah and Israel (covering a period of 360 years) are summed up in a single line,—

Part good, part bad ; of bad the longer scroll.

It was as a punishment for national apostasy that they were vanquished in war and carried by their enemies into captivity. The northern kingdom fell 722 B. C. and the southern 588 B. C. The people of Judaea and Jerusalem were carried away into captivity by the Babylonians under king Nebuchadnezzar.

V. From the Exile to the Coming of Christ.

17. [Cyrus the Persian takes possession of the city of Babylon, and succeeds to the Babylonian Empire 538 B. C.] In the first year of Cyrus the Jews are restored to Palestine, and with that monarch's help and encouragement begin at once to "re-edify" the temple. The re-building is interrupted for many years, but is resumed by command of Darius, a later occupant of the throne of Persia. [This explains "by leave of kings," xii. 348.]

18. All goes "moderately well" with the Jewish people, till contention arises among the priests that wait at the altar. The "strife" between two rivals* brings upon the people an invasion of their land, the desecration of their temple, and the loss of their independence. [The invader was Antiochus, (surnamed Epiphanes, the Illustrious), than whom the Jews never had a more fell enemy.]

19. About 50 years after the recovery of their independence (under Joseph Maccabaeus, who has been described as a "second Moses") the ruling high priest [Aristobulus] assumes the title of "king," thus ignoring the Divine promise that the kingship should be in David's family.

20. When the Romans become masters of the country, they appoint a "stranger" (i.e. a foreigner) to rule over the land. This was Herod the Great, who began his long reign in the year 40 B.C. He was still on the throne when the Messiah was born, who therefore comes into the world "barred of his right"—he is not born "in the purple," but is laid in a manger.

VI. New Testament Times.

21. Jesus is born of a virgin [in Bethlehem of Judaea]. The event is recognized (1) by sages from the East, who present him with offerings worthy of a sovereign and (2) by simple shepherds, who have heard a carol in their fields announcing His birth.

* These were Onias, (calling himself Menelaus) and Joshua, (calling himself Jason) The Persian Empire by this time has fallen before the prowess of Alexander the Great, and certain Jews began to affect the Greek language and civilization.

22. Passing over the events of Christ's life, Michael recounts merely his victory over Sin and Death, whereby he bruises Satan's head according to prophesy; Jesus' "temporal death" being in comparison, a mere wound on the heel.

23. Rising from the dead on the third day, Jesus remains with his disciples long enough to give them instructions how they are to teach the nations "what of him they learnt."

24. After Jesus' ascension he sends down the Comforter, who guides and supports the early church, giving them power to "speak all tongues and do all miracles." The first disciples faithfully perform their mission, write down their story, and at length die.

25. Apostasy begins almost immediately after the time of the apostles. Their successors begin to covet honour and power and lucre—nor do they scruple to employ the "secular power" to accomplish their ambitions. Meanwhile the true body of believers is to be found (apparently) only outside of the church and persecuted by it.

26. The only hope of these faithful few rests in the promised return of Christ. When He shall be revealed "in the clouds" He will "dissolve Satan and his perverted world," renew the Heavens and the Earth, annulling the curse that fell on the ground with the entrance of sin into the world, and lastly will inaugurate a reign of universal righteousness and love.

APPENDIX V.

MILTON'S STYLE.

THE name of Milton (as Sir Walter Raleigh tells us) "is become the mark...of a style—the most distinguished in poetry." To appreciate Milton we must be capable of receiving pleasure from the mere charm of his diction—otherwise the best is lost upon us, and we might as well go for literary enjoyment to a less exacting author. For such a competent judge as Matthew Arnold Milton's poetry had all the power and charm of the great classical masters. "Milton has made the great style no longer an exotic here; he has made it an inmate among us, a leaven and a power."

It was the fascination of this matchless diction that betrayed so well-balanced a critic as Stopford Brooke into the extravagance of calling Milton England's greatest poet (in the first edition of his *Literature Primer*). Shakespeare's supremacy as king of English literature cannot seriously be called in question, and it is Milton who suffers rather than Shakespeare when we begin to make comparisons.* In the later poet, where are we to look for Shakespeare's unlaboured ease, his universality, his sheer intellectual force?

Nevertheless as an exponent of what is termed the "grand style" Milton is not inferior to Shakespeare. There is a certain kinship between them. Raleigh has called attention to passages in Milton's earlier work that have the true Shakespearian ring, and exhibit even his technique.

Milton has been described as "the last of the Elizabethans"—as "an Elizabethan born out of due time." Standing midway between the two great eras in our Literature, the creative and the artificial, he wholly belongs to the former. A minute study of his language will corroborate this statement. Masson in his *Essay on Milton's English* written just after the appearance of Abbott's well-known *Shakespearian Grammar*, has told us that "all or most of those irregularities or apparent anomalies of idiom which Mr. Abbott has enumerated as most essentially Elizabethan or Shakespearian might be illustrated also by examples from Shakespeare."

But the difference is no less striking. Passing from Spenser and Shakespeare to Milton, we cannot but remark the loss of an unconscious air of freedom conspicuous in the

* It is possible to be a lover of Shakespeare without any appreciation of his style, and this is why Shakespeare stands so well the ordeal of translation into foreign languages (verse or prose). But it would be impossible for even the most masterly translation to convey the charm of *Comus* or *Paradise Lost* to those who cannot read the original.

older poets. Milton besides being a poet was a grammarian, and the *author* of a grammar; and "accuracy, disciplined accuracy is discernable in the word-texture of all his poems." But as he gained maturity he more and more escaped from the trammels of mere grammatical rules—and that "certain Doric delicacy" which struck Sir Henry Wotton in his earlier style becomes lost in something higher, in something that might be described as 'inspiration'—for the Hebrew prophets were as much his masters as the singers of Arcadia.

Paradise Lost occupies an intermediate place between the Minor Poems and the latest style (as exemplified in *Samson Agonistes*). On careful analysis THREE STYLES are distinguishable, which were thus characterized by Masson :—

1. "Parts and passages of rich or even sweet and simple beauty, as in the earlier poems, and where still the effect of the disciplined accuracy of idiom is that of consummate finish."

2. "Other parts and passages, however, where the close syntactical regulation takes, as before, the form of compact musical weight."

3. "Finally, passages and parts which so pass all previous bounds, both in length of sentence and in [the] multiplicity of ideas [that have] to be organized into one sentence, that Milton's syntactical art is taxed to the utmost, and even then, but for the harmonizing majesty of the verse, the resulting structure might be called not dense merely, but *contorted* or *gnarled* !"

This "highly disciplined syntax" sprang out of Milton's familiarity with LATIN, a language whose two great underlying principles are those of "concord" and "government." For many years before taking up *Paradise Lost* he had been engaged in a great Latin controversy (a medium which ensured for it a European reputation) and, as Masson acutely remarks, "it was after a 're-baptism in Latin' that he returned to composition in his native tongue".

This pre-occupation with a highly inflected language manifested itself in an attempt to naturalize various idioms not quite consonant with the genius of English. But as used by Milton they seem to be the proper garb for his thoughts.

In this connection one might call attention to :—

1. Those PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS which saved the Latins so many conjunctions and connecting particles and imparted to their language so much of its character of terseness and vigour. A passage chosen almost at random will illustrate Milton's 'pre-occupation' with the use of the Latin participle :—

Oft they assayed,
Hunger and thirst constraining ; drugged as oft,
With hatefullest disrelish writhed their jaws,
With soot and ashes filled.

Observe there the three participial clauses.

Coming under this general head, *two* constructions are specially noteworthy :—

(1) *The absolute construction*, which in Latin takes the ablative and in English the nominative case. The italicised words in the last quotation are a typical example; but hardly less characteristic are those brief phrases like “those removed” (xi. 889); “that past” (x. 341); “sin opening” (x. 234); “which understood” (x. 344) that are of constant occurrence.

(2) The other special construction is the idiom formed on the same model as the well-known Latinism *post urbem conditam* (=after the foundation of the city, literally, “after the city founded.” Readers of *Comus* will recall such a line as—

After the Tuscan mariners transformed—

an idiom very common in Milton’s later writings. The following instances will suggest others to the student :—

“After Eve seduced” (x. 332); “Their joy and pride for man seduced” (x. 577); “At that tasted fruit” (x. 687); “In punished man” (x. 803); “Repenting him of man depraved” (xi. 886).

[The other peculiarities now to be enumerated are not specially connected with Latin.]

2. ELLIPTICAL EXPRESSIONS, the commonest of which are :—

- (1) the omission of the nominative to a verb ;
- (2) the omission of the verb “to be”;
- (3) the omission of antecedents.

Example of these will be found in x. 901—5.

3. “CONSTRUCTION CHANGED BY CHANGE OF THOUGHT.” Here the sentence does not “run on all fours.” Often effective in poetry, this is one of the commonest causes of obscurity and clumsiness in ordinary prose. Masson gives us instances xi. 276,7 and 681,2.

4. INTERCHANGE OF PARTS OF SPEECH.

(1) Adjectives used as adverbs—“late” “safe” “dear” are used for “lately” “safely” “dearly.”

(2) Adjectives used as nouns—“fair”=“beauty”, “the fixed”=“the fixed stars.” Cf. “the Grand” “the stony.”

(3) A noun does duty as an adjective—“heaven towers.”

This sort of freedom, whereby one part of speech is employed to do duty for another, is commoner in Shakespeare [of whom it has been said that he “knows nothing of the so-called parts of speech”] than in Milton; but a considerable catalogue might be furnished from the latter.

(4) Use of the abstract for the concrete. Words like

"pontifice" "fruitage" "tillage" "servitude" "seizure" will occur to those familiar with bk. x-xii.*

The more minute and technical our examination of points like these, the more likely are we to feel the fascination of Milton's style. And yet there is always the unnameable something that eludes analysis. "The style is part of the man," and while we are microscopically studying these niceties, we must not forget that after all it is not simply Milton's writings, it is Milton's mind and temperament that we are analysing and studying.

Nearly all Milton's critics have (in different ways) expressed their conviction that the whole of his poetry has the peculiar stamp of his personality. His spirit will suddenly reveal its presence in some striking figure, some involved expression, something terse and cynical, some revelation of volcanic feeling (for "beautiful objectivity" was not Milton's ideal of art) or perhaps only in some audacity of language.

The following examples (necessarily few) are specimens of Milton's manner:—

O fleeting joys
Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes!

On me the curso aslope
Glanced on the ground.

Where'er they sat
In fellowships of joy, the sons of light
Hasted, &c.

Good with bad
Expect to hear, supernal grace contending
With sinfulness of men.

Thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought
First fruits, the green ear, and the yellow stalk
Unculled, as came to hand.

To God his tower intends
Siege and defiance.†

“ On their embattled ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war.

* Raleigh (*Milton* p. 227) has some suggestive remarks in this connection. "By the substitution of abstract nouns for concrete he [Milton] achieves a wonderful effect of majesty." (The whole passage ought to be read).

† Raleigh says of Shakespeare (*E. M. I.* p. 224) that he "makes sonorous use of the Latin vocabulary to expound and define his meaning; and then adds the more homely figurative word to convert all the rest into picture. His words are often paired in this fashion; one gives the thought, the other adds the image." To six examples given by Raleigh might be added the above from *Paradise Lost*, and (from *Julius Cæsar*) such lines as: *Our yoke and sufferance show us womanish—All the voyage of their lives is spent in shallows and in miseries.*

APPENDIX VI.

MILTON'S VERSIFICATION.

THE subject of Prosody can be made an interesting and profitable adjunct to the study of Milton's poetry, but care must be taken to approach it in the right way. The beginner is apt to be confused by rival theories and competing notations. The following outline will endeavour to set forth the science according to the views of Masson and Saintsbury, whose writings on this subject are easier to grasp and show more sympathy with the poet than any others with which I am acquainted.

Let it in the first place be clearly understood that the whole importance of the science lies in its being a handmaid to the art of reading, and that any one able to read poetry with true expression and emphasis already knows the subject by instinct. Such a person should, with very little initiation, be able to divide lines into their appropriate feet, i. e., to scan them.

Milton wrote most of his poetry in blank verse, commonly described as "iambic pentameter." Using "x" to denote short (or unaccented) syllables and "a" to denote long (or accented) ones, the scansion of the "normal line" might be symbolically represented thus :—

x a | x a | x a | x a | x a

Examples of the normal line abound. Take the following :—

Nor love | thy life | nor hate, | but what | thou liv'st
Live well ; | how long | or short | permit | to Heav'n.

A succession of such lines would soon pall on the ear and so we seldom find many of them together. The "x a" formula is often reversed, i.e., in place of the iamb we have a trochee ; or we may have a foot of two short syllables (a pyrrhic) or two long ones (a spondee). The following are miscellaneous examples of these different variations :—

{ Childless | thou art | childless | remain. | So death
 { a x x a a x x a x a •

{ Outstretch | he lay | on the | cold ground, | and oft
 { a a x a a x a a x a

{ On this | mount he | appeared | under | this tree
 { x a a a x a a x a a

{ Me, me | only | just ob | ject of | his ire
 { a a a x a a x x x a

Where the line consists of ten syllables (as in the above examples) the difficulty of scansion is reduced to a minimum. But

the student requires to be cautioned against the attempt to "regularize" lines that were never meant to be of the regular type. "The proper way" as Masson says, "is not to *impose* the music on the lines, but to let the music of each line *arise* out of it as it is read naturally."

Difficulties may arise when the number of syllables (as frequently happens) exceeds the normal ten. There are two modes of procedure in vogue among prosodists (1) to get rid of the superfluous syllables and thus reduce the line to the normal type or (2) to accept the line as it stands, admitting *trisyllabic feet* where the scansion seems to demand it.

This is not the place to enter into controversial questions. Suffice it to say that in connection with (1) there exists an elaborate machinery for reducing trisyllabic feet to dissyllables, which has been described by Saintsbury as "a tangle of rule and exception."

Nor is Masson less decided. After showing his readers (*Essay*, p. cxliii.) how he would scan certain of Milton's more difficult lines, he remarks, "All these lines might be rectified into Decasyllables by supposing elisions, slurs, or contracted utterances; and there are some who seem to favour such a practice. There could be no more absurd error." Whereupon, he gives examples of the cacophonies that would have to be endured by every delicate ear. Masson and Saintsbury in scanning Milton's blank verses practically ignore such devices as *elision*, *syncope* and *synaeresis*, employed for dropping out vowels and running syllables together. Much of the beauty and the power of a poet's lines is inevitably lost when we exercise the vowel sounds.

"To some ears, at least," says Saintsbury, "great loss of beauty would be caused by the omission to give full value to the italicised syllables in—"

O miserable of happy? Is this the end?"

Over against the process of elision, (and converting its code of laws into a dead letter) stands the alternative principle of "equivalence"—according to which Milton does not hesitate to substitute for the iambic not only dissyllables like trochees, spondees or pyrrhics, but also trisyllables such as anapaests (x x a) dactyls (a x x) and tribachs (x x x). The following are examples of the scansion of lines containing trisyllabic variations:—

* Saintsbury claims that his view has all the advantage that a single master-key has over "a whole bunch of jingling picklocks." "I believe that master-key to be provided by the system of foot scansion, with equivalence and substitution, which has been championed throughout this book."

Wherefore | didst thou | beget me I sought it not
 a x x a x a x x a x a

Where ob | vious du | ty ere while | appeared | unsought
 x x a x x a x a x a

Because | thou hast hear | kened to | the voice | of thy wife
 x a x x a x a x a x x a

Fled and | pursued | traverse | the res | onant fugue*
 x a x a x a x a x a x

Is pi- | ety thus | and pure | devo | tion paid ?
 x a x x a x a x a x a

* This is one of Professor Saintsbury's examples, who remarks ; "Observe what an infinite loss in 'suiting the word to the sense' will come from substituting 'res'nant' for 'resonant'." The pronunciation of "piety" as a dissyllable (i.e. "pi'ty") instead of Milton's robust type of religion, would rather suggest the sort of thing that Thackeray would have styled "namby-pamby "

GLOSSARY.

- Aaron**, xii. 170. The brother of Moses, whom God appointed to be Moses' spokesman.
- Abel**, the second son of Adam, who was slain by his elder brother Cain.
- Abraham**, xii. 152. The name means 'father of a great multitude'. He is regarded as the progenitor of the Hebrew nation. He was called by God to leave his native country, 'Ur of the Chaldees' on the western bank of the Euphrates. From here he travels to Shechem (in the centre of Palestine) where again God meets him and makes with him a covenant, to the effect that in his seed all nations should be blessed. See also xii. 260, 268, 273, 328 all of which refer to this promised seed.
- Accessories**, x. 520. Accomplices.
- Adust**, xii. 635. Parched. Latin *adustus*.
- Advocate**, xi. 33. One who pleads the cause of another. Christ, as man's intercessor.
- Afer**, x. 702. Lit. *African*. One of the Winds, q. v.
- Aladule**, x. 435. Greater Armenia.
- Almanzor**, xi. 403. Surname of Abu Jaffar, founder of Bagdad in 762. A. D. The name means "the Victorious."
- Amaranthine**, xi. 78. Adjective from amaranth, the fadeless flower; considered as a type of immortality.
- Ambrosial**, xi. 279. Ambrosia was the food of the gods, as nectar was their drink.
- Anarchy**, x. 283. The word is used concretely in the sense of a region of disorder, viz. Chaos, (whose head is termed "Anarch" ii. 988).
- Appetence**, xi. 619. Lasciviousness.
- Argestes**, x. 699. One of the Winds, q. v.
- Argument**, x. 800. Proof; similarly argue=prove or show, x. 1014; xii. 283.
- Argus**, xi. 131. A monster with a hundred eyes who was slain by Mercury.
- Aries**, x. 329. The Ram, one of the signs of the Zodiac, q. v.
- Ark**, (1) xi. 819. The name given to the vessel in which Noah and his family were preserved during the Flood; (2) xii. 251. The chest in the Holy of Holies in which the law written on tables of stone was preserved.

Ascension, x. 187. Disappearance of Jesus to human sense, an event that took place 40 days after His resurrection.

Aspects, x. 658. Masson quotes the following from a Latin catechism on Astronomy (dated 1582):—"What are the *aspects* of planets? They are such arrangements and distances of the planets as allow them to intercommunicate their influence. How many species of aspects are there? Five—Conjunction, Sextile, Square, Trine, and Diametral or Opposition." For Conjunction Milton prefers to use the word Synod.

Assay, x. 865. Same as essay, q. v. The use of the word is now limited to the testing of metals.

Astracan, x. 432. A country lying north of the Caspian Sea.

Attrite, x. 1073. Worn by rubbing.

Babylon, xii. 343. The Greek form of Babel, the city of confusion, according to popular etymology. Michael refers (1) to its founder and his tower; (2) to the confusion of tongues among the builders; and later on (3) to the Jewish captivity there.

Bactrian, x. 433. This epithet is applied to the king of Persia from the name of one of his richest provinces.

Bait, xii. 1. Stop on a journey.

Bate, xii. 1. Slacken speed.

Beeves, xi. 647. The plural of beef, meaning "cattle."

Bevy, xi. 582. A group of gay women. See note on p. 153.

Bizance, xi. 395. Byzantium, the original name of Constantinople.

Boreas, x. 699. See note on Winds.

Brand, xii. 643. A sword-blade is sometimes so called from its flashing brightness.

Cadence, x. 92. Decline (of the sun).

Caecias, x. 699.. One of the Winds, q. v.

Cain, Adam's eldest son, murders his brother Abel.

Gambalu, xi. 388. A city of Cathay. The word is said to mean 'the city of the Khgn'.

Can, xi. 388. Khan, a Tartar prince.

Canaan, xii. 135. The country of the **Canaanites** (xii. 217), promised to Abraham and his descendants, and taken possession of under Joshua, q. v.

Carol, xii. 367. A song of praise.

Casbeen, x. 436. A city of Persia.

Cathalan, x. 293; xi. 388. Pertaining to Cathay, a poetical name for the Celestial Empire.

- Causey**, x, 415. Causeway or highroad.
- Centaur**, x, 328. One of the signs of the Zodiac, q. v.
- Charity**, xii. 584. (1) Love, a sense of the word now obsolete. To-day it is commonly used in the sense of (2) alms giving or (3) toleration.
- Chersonese**, xi, 392. Literally "land-island." The Greeks applied this name to what we now call the peninsula of Gallipoli. Milton applies it to the peninsula of Malacca.
- Cherubim** (1) xi. 128, xii. 628, the plural of Cherub, one of the higher orders of angels; (2) xii. 254. Two figures of gold that overlooked the mercy-seat.
- Collateral**, x, 86. By the side of. The Son's place is on the right hand and therefore by the side of the Father.
- Colleague** (with), x, 59. Working in harmony with. See Psalm lxxxv. 10.
- Congo**, xi, 401. A state on the western coast of Africa.
- Connatural**. (1) x, 246. Inborn, inherent in one's nature; (2) xi, 529. Of like nature with ourselves.
- Covenant**. This word occurs 7 times in bks. xi. and xii., always with reference to God's solemn engagements; such as (1) xi. 116; that He would send a Deliverer; (2) xi. 867, 892, 898; that He would no more drown mankind; (3) xii. 252, His promises to Moses; (4) xii. 302; to the prophets; (5) xii. 346, to David.
- Crab**, x, 675. One of the signs of the Zodiac, q. v.
- Craze**, xii. 210. Break in pieces; cognate to *crack*.
- Crime**, x, 127. Here the word means, not fault, but accusation or punishment. Elsewhere (x. 545, 841, xi 424, xii. 619) it is employed in its ordinary sense.
- Cronian Sea**, x, 290. The Arctic Ocean. (The name is derived from Kronos or Saturn).
- Cubit**. xi. 730. A measure of length. See note on p. 159.
- Damp**, xi. 193, 544. Depression of spirits.
- David**, xii. 326, 347. The second King of Israel, the prototype of the Messiah, of whom he was the progenitor.
- Defended**, xi. 86. Forbidden.
- Delos**, x, 296. One of the Grecian Islands, the birthplace of Apollo.
- Denounce**, xi. 106. Give official intimation—the use of the word in Deut. xxx. 18.
- Depopulation**, xi. 756. See note p. 160.
- Deport**, xi. 666. Deportment, bearing.
- Determine**, xi. 227. Make an end of (Latin *terminus* = limit).

Deucalion, xi. 12. When Jupiter determined to destroy the degenerate human race by a flood of waters, Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were saved on account of their piety.

Dictéan, x. 584. Pertaining to Dicte, a mountain in Crete where Jupiter is said to have been brought up.

Dipsas, x. 526. A serpent whose bite caused intense thirst. Cf. "dipsomania."

Divan, x. 457. Council of State (a Persian word).

Dothan, xi. 217, in Samaria, was the scene of Jacob's second vision of angels.

Ecbatan, xi. 393. One of the capitals of the Persian Empire.

El Dorado, xi. 411. A supposed city of gold in South America. In a famous romance by Voltaire we read of the boys in the streets playing with nuggets of gold as if they were common stones.

Elops, x. 525. A mythical serpent.

Emboss, xii. 180. Cause to swell, from "boss" = a lump or swelling.

Empyrean, x. 380. Belonging to the **Empyrean**, the region of pure fire or light, x. 321. By this name Milton often designates the Heaven of Heavens, the abode of God and his angels. See Appendix A.

Enoch (the sixth from Adam in the line of Seth), prophesies to his generation, is rejected by them and is translated to Heaven, 'rapt in a balmy cloud', xi. 706.

Ercoco, xi. 398. A seaport of Abyssinia, the modern Arkeeko.

Essay, x. 865. Attempt.

Estoliland, x. 686. The northern portion of the American Continent. See **Norumbega**.

Etherial, x. 27; xii. 577. Pertaining to the ether or pure upper air; heavenly.

Euphrasy and rue. xi. 414. Specifics for affections of the eyes.

Eurus, x. 705. One of the Winds, q. v.

Eurynome. See **Ophion**.

Explode, x. 546; xi. 669. In both these passages the word is used in the sense of "hoot or hiss at", like Latin *explodere* = drive off the stage.

Extenuate, x. 645. Disparage.

Fact, xi. 457. A crime (such as a brother's murder). Latin *factum*.

Fair, xi. 717. Fairness or beauty. [Obs.]

Fate, x. 265 ; 480 ; xi. 181. An inscrutable power before which (in classical mythology) the gods themselves bow down.

Frequenting, x. 1091. Filling (sc. with sound).

Fugue, xi. 563. See note on p. 153.

Fulgent, x. 449. Shining.

Fusil, xi. 573. Latin *fusilis*, molten, fluid, liquid [*fundo* to pour].

Gentiles, xii. 310. The word is used in the scriptures to designate all who are not Jews. Milton applies the term to the seventy Greeks who translated the Hebrew scriptures into their own tongue.

Geryon, xi. 410. A monster (king of Spain) slain by Hercules. Milton abusively describes the Spanish conquerors of America as "Geryon's sons."

Gorgonian, x. 297. Pertaining to the Gorgons, three frightful maidens whose gaze could change beholders into stone.

Grain, xi. 242. Dye. The word is derived from Latin *granum* = corn, seed, such as is sometimes employed in the process of dyeing cloth.

Haran, xii. 131. A city of Mesopotamia, visited by Abraham on his way to Canaan. It is famous in Roman history as Carrhae, the scene of the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians.

Harbinger, xi. 589. A forerunner. Originally one who provided lodgings for a person of importance.

Heinous, x. 1. It is not quite certain whether the word signifies (1) despicable or (2) spiteful, as in the Notes ; cf. Modern French *haineux* = *inspiré par la haine*.

Hellespont, x. 309. The ancient name for the Dardanelles.

Hermes, x, 133. The Greek name of Mercury.

Hierarch, xi. 220. The chief of a sacred order. A member of one of the Hierarchies or ranks among the angels.

Highth, xi. 730. The older form of *height*, which Milton always spelt in this way.

Hubbub, xii. 60. A confused noise. [Literally *hoop-hoop*.]

Hull, xi. 840. To be driven on the water like a *hull* or nestless ship.

Hydrus, x. 525. The water-snake.

Hymen, xi. 591. (1) The god of marriage ; (2) nuptials, a wedding.

Illustrate, x. 78. Glorify. [Obs.]

Imagined way, x. 291. The north-east passage [from the Polar Sea to China]. "It was a problem in Milton's time whether such a passage could be effected."* Masson.

*The passage was first accomplished in 1878, by a Swedish explorer.

Instinct, xi. 562. See note on p. 152.

Iris, xi. 244. The goddess of the rainbow; regarded as the messenger of the gods.

Janus, xi. 129. A Latin divinity, represented with two faces, symbolical of wisdom that "looks before and after".

Jesus, (1) x. 183. The Son of Mary and conqueror of Satan. (2) xii. 310. The Greek form of Joshua, q. v.

Joshua, xii. 310. (In Scripture this name occurs in five forms, Hoshea, Oshea, Jesus, etc). He first ministers to Moses, then is sent to spy out Canaan. Subsequently he is ordained to succeed him and leads the Israelites into the Promised Land.

Jove, x. 584. A common contraction of the name Jupiter, "the father of gods and men".

Lazar-house, xi. 479. A plague-hospital. The name is derived from Lazarus, the name of the beggar in Luke xvi. 20.

Leucothea, xi. 135. "The white goddess", whom Milton identifies with Matuta, the goddess of the dawn.

Libeccio, x. 706. The wind from *Libya* or Africa, (to be pronounced *lib-ek-kio*.)

Listed, xi. 866. *List* means the edge or border of cloth that serves to strengthen it; hence a strip of cloth. "Gartered with a red and blue *list*." *Shakespeare*. The verb, therefore, means *stripped* (the rainbow being compared perhaps to a garter).

Lucifer, x. 425. The name means "bringer of light" and commonly signifies the morning star. In the text it designates Satan.

Magellan, x. 687. The straits separating the continent of South America from the islands of Terra del Fuego.

Mahanaim, xi. 214. A place in Palestine, east of the Jordan.

Manuring, xi. 28. Cultivating by manual labour.

Marasmus, xi. 487. The disease of consumption, from a Greek word meaning fading or withering.

Marish, xii. 630. This word (of which *march* is a shortened form) is 'literally *more-ish*, i.e. full of meres or pools'. [A. S. *mere*, a lake.]

Mediator, x. 60; xii. 240. Intercessor. It describes one of the offices (1) of Christ, and (2) of Moses, as a type of Christ.

Megæra, x. 560. One of the three Furies, also called the Eumenides. Their locks were entwined with serpents.

Melibœan, xi. 242. Melibœa was a town in Thessaly, famous for an excellent dye.

Mercy-seat, (1) xii. 253. The golden cover or lid of the Ark of the Covenant: (2) xi. 2. Used figuratively for God's 'throne of grace.'

Messiah, xii. 244, 359. The Hebrew equivalent of Christ, the Anointed; a designation of Jesus as King of the Jews and Saviour of the world.

Mole, x. 300. A breakwater. It is one of the numerous words used to designate the bridge built by Sin and Death.

Moment (of impulse), x. 45, where see Note.

Moses, xii. 170, 198, 211, 237, 241, 307. The greatest figure in O. T. history. The name means 'saved from the water' (referring to the concealment of the infant in a basket of bulrushes). He intercedes with Pharaoh for the children of Israel, and by signs and wonders delivers them from the Egyptian bondage. He is their leader during the 40 years sojourn in the wilderness, bringing the law to them from Mount Sinai; but is not suffered to lead them into the Promised Land,

Negus, xi. 397. The title applied to the rulers of Abyssinia.

Noah, (the ninth from Adam of the line of Seth), is a preacher of righteousness to the men of his generation; they reject his words, and he is ordered by God to build the ark, in which he and his family and all living creatures, by pairs and sevens, are saved from the Deluge.

Norumbega, x. 694. A town on the Eastern Coast of North America (corresponding to Canada).

Notus, x, 702. One of the Winds, q. v.

Obvious, xi. 374. Lying in the way, (not *averted*).

Olympus, x. 583. A mountain range rising 15,000 feet, regarded by the Greeks as the abode of the gods.

Ophion, x 581. One of the Titans. With Euryonoté (according to one account) he shared the supremacy previous to Saturn's rule.

Ops, x, 584. Wife of Saturn.

Orbicular, x. 381. A Miltonic word for "round".

Oreb, xi. 74. The same as Horeb on Sinai, the mountain where their national laws were promulgated to the Israelites.

Pandemonium, x. 424. The council chamber of Satan and his chiefs.

Paquin, xi. 390. A form of "Pekin", the residence of the Emperors of China.

Paragoned, x. 426. Compared to.

Passing, xi. 717. Surpassing or extraordinary. Goldsmith's village pastor was "*passing* rich with forty pounds a year."

- Period**, xii. 467. End or conclusion. Literally a "going round" "circuit." In grammar "a complete sentence".
- Petrifio**, x. 294. Able to change soft substances into stone.
- Petsora**, x. 292. A gulf situated on the N.E. coast of Russian Europe.
- Pharaoh**—(the Sun), the title of the rulers of Egypt. Three are spoken of in Michael's narrative, (1) xii. 163; Joseph's patron; (2) xi. 165; the subsequent king; (3) xi. 173; the 'lawless tyrant'.
- Plutonian**, x. 444. Pertaining to Pluto, the god of the lower regions; hellish.
- Pontifice**, x. 318. Something of the nature of a bridge. Cf. the adjective **pontifical**, x. 413.
- Prevenient**, xi. 3. Taking the initiative. Used in a theological sense.
- Prodigious**, xi. 688. monstrous, unnatural. The word does not necessarily connote largeness.
- Pyrrha**, xi. 12. Wife of Deucalion, q. v.
- Python**, x. 531. A serpent slain by Apollo near Delphi. Hence the **Pythian** x. 530 games in honour of the victory.
- Quadrature**, x. 381. Something quadrate or square. The word is applied to the Emphyrean from its shape (of which however the poet himself was in doubt see ii. 1048).
- Quarry**, x. 281. Prey (from the French *querir*=to seek for hunt).
- Quell**, xii. 311. To subdue, (said of *quail*, to cower).
- Quit**, xi. 548. Freed or released of a debt or burden.
- Ransom**, x. 61, xii. 424. Price paid for something e. g. a slave. In *Paradise Lost* it refers to Christ's expiatory sacrifice.
- Rapt**, xi. 706. Snatched away. The passage refers to the translation of Enoch.
- Redeemer**, x. 61; 445. 575. Saviour (literally 'one who buys back').
- Reduced**, x. 438. Led back (of troops).
- Reluctant**, x. 515. Offering stubborn resistance—not simply 'disinclined'.
- Samoed**, x. 696. North-eastern Siberia.
- Sarra**, xi. 243. Another name of Tyre, famous of yore for its purple dye.
- Saturn**, x. 583. The father of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto.
- Scorpion**, x. 328. A sign of the Zodiac, q. v.
- Shoaling**, i. 288. Driving or heaping materials together.

- Sinaean**, xi. 890. Adjective from "Sinae," the ancient name of China.
- Sinai**, xii. 227. The mountain from whose top the ten commandments were promulgated to the Israelites.
- Sinister**, x. 886. The left side.
- Sirocco**, x. 706. One of the winds, q. v. This word and "Saracen" come from the same root, viz. the Arabic *sharq* = east.
- Sluice**, xi. 849. A flood-gate, lit. that which "shuts out" water; from Latin *excludere* = shut out.
- Sofala** xi. 400. A district on the east coast of Africa.
- Solomon** (=the Peaceful). Son and successor to David, and the builder of the temple in Jerusalem.
- Sophi**, x. 433. The Shah.
- Spartan Twins**, x. 674. The constellation Gemini; one of the signs of the Zodiac.
- Spirit**, xii. 488. The Holy Ghost, the third person of the Trinity.
- Stygian**, x. 453. Hellish, (from Styx, the principal river of Hell).
- Sus**, xi. 403. Susa, a seaport in Tunis.
- Susa**, x. 308. Ancient residence of the Kings of Persia.
- Synod**, (join in) x. 661. See under **Aspects**.
- Tauris**, x. 436. A Persian city, the modern Tabriz.
- Temir**, xi. 389. Timur or Tamerlane, famous in history.
- Temper**, x. 77. Mitigate. Cf. the proverb, "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb".
- Thrall**, x. 402. A slave, literally a 'runner', one who runs on errands. Cf. **Enthral**, xii. 94.
- Thrascias**, x. 700. One of the winds, q. v.
- Thrones**, x. 86. An order of angels.
- Thyestean**, x. 688. See note, p. 118.
- Tine**, x. 1075. Kindle. With this obsolete word is connected *inder*, used for kindling fire from a spark.
- Train**, xi. 664. An enticement, literally "that which draws along." Cf. "Now to my charms, and to my wily *trains*." *Comus*.
- Tremisen**, xi. 404. A town to the south of Algiers.
- Triumph**, (1) xi. 695. Earthly reward; the prestige that follows upon success in arms; (2) xi. 723. Festival. At x. 537, 546 it is used in the ordinary sense of exultation.
- Troll** (the tongue) xi. 620. Roll in the mouth, as in the act of talking volubly.

Unoriginal, x. 476. Without² beginning or origin.

Unweeting, x. 335. Ignorant (from A. S. *wit*=to know).

Ur of Chaldaea, xii. 130. The city from which Abram set out on his journey to Canaan.

Vexed, v. 314. Storm-tost.

Volant, xi. 561. The word describes the rapid motion of the fingers of the player upon an instrument.

Winds, x. 695,706. 'This is a most characteristic passage, and one of the greatest examples in Milton of the "pathetic fallacy." Yet it has been taken exception to on various grounds—pedantry, grotesqueness, and even on the ground of weakness! "These" writes Newton "are the foibles and weak parts of our author"—showing an incurable turn for fault-finding and much lack of sympathy with the poet.

Milton here follows in the train of the classical authors (e. g. Virgil), but certainly outstrips them. The winds have been personified by all the great world poets since Vedic^{*} times. In Homer they are minor deities. The names in the text are chiefly drawn from the Latin and Greek poets, but Libeccio (corresponding to *Lips* in Greek) is Italian.

The accompanying figure may help the student to localize these various winds. 1. 3. 5. and 8. (corresponding to the four cardinal points, represent the four principal winds viz. Boreas, Eurus, Notus, and Zephyr. The others, viz. Caecias, Sirocco, Afer (or Libeccio), Libeccio (or Afer), Argestes, and Thrascias are represented by 2. 4. 6. 7. 9. and 10. respectively. (6. and 7. though distinguished by different names are probably identical).

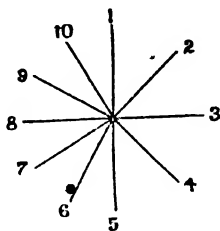


FIG. 5.

Wrack, xi. 821. Ruin, shipwreck ; literally 'that which is cast ashore'.

^{*} Their place in the Vedic Hymns is a prominent one. There seems to be much discrepancy as to their number (which in one place is put down at 27). Sir Monier Williams has described them as "a whole assemblage of moving powers, coming from every quarter of the compass, and impersonated as Maruts or Storm-Winds."

Xerxes, x. 307. The king of Persia who crossed the Hellespont by a bridge of boat in order to invade Greece, B. C. 480.

Zenith, x. 328. The point of the sky over the observer's head. Steering his Zenith="his ascent to the opening of the Universe at its pole or zenith." Masson.

Zephyr, x. 705. See Winds.

Zodiac, xi. 247; xii. 255. (In the first of these passages the word is literal, in the second metaphorical). An imaginary belt round the heavens in which the sun and planets perform their revolutions. It is divided into 12 equal parts called the "signs" of the Zodiac. The word is Greek and means "pertaining to animals," the constellations being chiefly represented by animals. [cf. "Zoo."] The following rhyme is a useful mnemonic :—

The Ram, the Bull, the Heavenly Twins,
And next the Crab, the Lion shines,
The Virgin and the Scales,
The Scorpion, Archer, and He-goat,
The Man that bears the watering-pot,
And Fish with glittering tails.

Questions for Self-examination on the Subject-matter of bks. X. XI. XII.

1. What do we learn concerning the disobedience of Adam and Eve from the scene in which the Son of God acts as their Judge?
2. How do Sin and Death learn about Satan's success in his attempt to seduce mankind? Describe the building of their bridge between Hell and the New World.
3. Give an account of the interview that takes place between Satan and his offspring when their ways cross.
4. With what parts of Milton's scheme of the Universe are we made acquainted in bk. x, and in what order do they come before us?
5. Describe the punishment that overtakes Satan and his followers in consequence of their "joy for man seduced."
6. How does Satan address his chiefs when he returns from the conquest of mankind?
7. Describe in what various ways Nature is made to suffer the consequences of the introduction of sin into the world.
8. How does Milton account for the "eternal spring" of the first age of the world, and what theories are put forward to explain the subsequent introduction of the four seasons?
9. In what connection does Milton make mention of the ten Winds and how does he describe their encounters?
10. What effect is produced on Adam's mind by the sight of the disturbances in Nature's works? In what words does he now reproach (1) himself (2) his Maker and (3) his wife?
11. With what words does Eve soothe his mind? What suggestions does Adam put forth whereby their future lot may be made less bitter?
12. We read of the Almighty addressing His assembled angels three times between Man's Fall and the sending of Michael. What is the occasion of each of these utterances and what its import?
13. What similes are employed in describing the appearance of Michael and his cohort of angels?
14. How does Adam receive the announcement that he and Eve must abandon Paradise? And how does Eve receive it?

15. Give a description of the great world-panorama presented to Adam's eyes from the Mount of Vision.

16. Give an account of any one of the visions presented to Adam by Michael.

17. What are we to infer from Adam's words to the archangel as regards the reaction of each of the visions upon his mind?

18. What are Adam's reflections upon the individual who originated tyranny, and how far does the poet here use Adam as his own mouthpiece?

19. Give a brief outline (1) of the Israelites' deliverance from Egyptian bondage, (2) of their sojourn in the Wilderness, and (3) of their settlement in the Land of Promise. What hints does Milton put forth of an allegorical interpretation of these several events?

20. What seems to you the main purpose of Michael's discourse? In what sense may Milton in bk. xii. be said to "justify the ways of God to men?"

21. Describe Adam and Eve's departure from the Garden of Eden.
